# The Prisoner of War In Germany

# Daniel J.M<sup>c</sup>Carthy



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# THE PRISONER OF WAR IN GERMANY

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Mahometans in the camp at Zossen

# THE PRISONER OF WAR IN GERMANY

THE CARE AND TREATMENT OF THE PRISONER OF WAR WITH A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOP-MENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NEUTRAL INSPECTION AND CONTROL

BY

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## PREFACE

From the outbreak of the present war to the breaking of diplomatic relations, a period covering two and a half years, our State Department elaborated and carried out an important piece of work which received scant notice in the public prints. To our various embassies were delegated the care of the prisoners of war in Russia, Germany, Austria, France and Great Britain. When, therefore, the Department gave "leave to print" matters in relation to this work, I felt it a duty to present the problem in Germany, and its solution, in book form.

This report is based upon a personal experience of several months' intimate contact, in an official position, with the problem involved. It might be said that it is, in simple language, a report of a survey of the Prisoner of War situation in Germany for the year 1916.

The subject matter is based partly upon my own notes, from which later official reports were drawn up, partly upon official reports published in the Parliamentary White papers, and to a certain extent upon confidential letters accompanying reports and explanatory of them (not published). Reports exist in corroboration of all incidents and material presented, unless otherwise stated in the text.

Statements made by prisoners, when not denied or contraverted by the German authorities, are here presented, as stated. I have received the reports made by the other attachés of the embassy at one time or other assigned to this work, i.e., Messrs. Jackson, Osborne, Dresel, Ohnesorg, Russell, Webster, Taylor.

I have, however, used none of the material of their reports. To Dr. Karl Ohnesorg I am indebted for assistance in a personal way, in the use of his notes and translations of some of the matter in the Appendix, and without his aid and assistance this survey would not have been made nor this report submitted. I am equally indebted to Dr. A. E. Taylor for moral support.

To write anything on the Prisoner of War situation in Germany without giving credit, in the eventual analysis, for the ideas and ideals underlying the principles of treatment of the problem to our ambassador to Germany, Mr. J. W. Gerard, would be falling far short of just appreciation. His fine sense of justice and fair dealing, his keen, almost automatic analysis of complicated situations, his open indignation of anything that savored of unjust or inhumane treatment, made him the ideal custodian of the rights of the Prisoner of War. The German officials were somewhat afraid of him because "they did not understand him," and they did not understand him for

#### PREFACE

the simple reason that he was not the usual type of diplomat. A master at differentiating facts from half facts and theory, with his case complete, he acted directly and without circumlocution or useless verbiage, demanding rather than requesting a correction of evils in reference to the Prisoner of War situation. He often went direct to the camps himself to obtain at first hand information with which to complete his case. Tn the game of delay and procrastination they found in him a queer type of ambassador who was not willing to be content with a protest but at unexpected moments, until he secured results, restating his case and even after months of delay demanding redress. He stood, and always, at a hostile court an example of the best type of patriotic American, stood indeed for what this exemplifies -fair play and decent treatment for the helpless and oppressed. Without his support the efforts of the inspection of the Embassy for the Prisoner of War would have been futile and barren of results, and the principles of neutral control would not have been developed to a principle of international usage.

I am indebted for much valuable aid in the preparation of material, analysis of reports, etc., to my secretary, Miss Julia Guillou. .

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# THE PRISONER OF WAR IN GERMANY

# CHAPTER I

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE PRISONER OF WAR

**I**<sup>N</sup> the general romance woven by the popular imagination around the subject of war, there is no more pathetic and appealing figure than that of the prisoner in the hands of the enemy. Tn order to stimulate the patriotism of the people, to create the proper atmosphere towards the enemy it is considered essential to attribute to him the faults of heartless cruelty, a lack of all humane principles, and to lay at his door the impossible of all crimes, including rape, massacre and murder. One of the most eminent men in Germany made the statement that "all of the nations at war have gone crazy and of all of them unquestionably we (the Germans) are the craziest." It is certainly true that a nation at war loses that fine balance of judgement that the same nation in peace might ordinarily have. That a nation at war may present all the manifestations of hysteria in its conduct and mode of thinking has almost been the rule of the nations involved in the present war. That peculiar quality of the hysteric, the hypersensitiveness to suggestion, is a predominating quality. The whole nation is willing to believe anything in the public prints and the public prints are willing to present to its readers anything that is presented to them, it matters little how absurd or incredible the matter may be. Tales of the heartless and ruthless murder of the wounded prisoner, of deliberate starvation, the lack of care, etc., early found their way into the newspapers of all the nations at war. While these tales produced a very definite sentiment against the enemy they at the same time created a decided feeling of worry on the part of that portion of the population whose relatives were included as prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy.

A soldier who had been killed in action was mourned as a sacrifice on the altar of patriotism. Time, the great healer of such sorrow, eventually led the relatives from a condition of mourning to one of pride in their offering. The prisoner of war, on the other hand, while in the hands of the heartless and brutal enemy remained for months and even years a matter of continuing solicitude and worry on the part of all the relatives and an increasing rather than decreasing circle of friends. The effect the published tales of brutality on such a large part of the population interested in the prisoner of war sooner or later would lead to a demand to the Government that the condition of the prisoner should be ameliorated.

One need only glance at the diplomatic correspondence between the British Foreign Office and the American Embassy during the first six months of the war to realize the very grave concern of the British Government concerning the care, treatment and fate of the British soldier, a prisoner in Germany. Urgent demands from the American Ambassador in Berlin in the early months of the war for clothing for both officers and men, with reports from prisoners who had escaped to England and Russia of harsh and brutal treatment both in the transport to the prison camps and within the camps, led his Majesty's Government to make protests to the American Embassy. This was followed later by an attempt to arrange some definite sort of inspection. On account of lack of food in some of the prison camps the German Government had agreed to accept food packages for the prisoners. At the suggestion of Mr. Chandler Anderson a request was made that certain officers of the Quartermaster's Department of the United States of America be assigned to the Embassy at Berlin to control the distribution of food and clothing; nothing, however, came of this. From December 26, when this suggestion was first made, to March 17, when the German Government accepted the idea of inspection, this matter was the subject of repeated and urgent communications on the part of the British Foreign Office, the American Embassy at London, at Berlin, and our own State Department. The German Government did not appear to take very much interest in the matter but was eventually forced to the general idea.

As a counter proposition to the British suggestion, the Berlin Government, through the American Embassy, requested that an inspection of the German civilians and soldiers who were interned in Great Britain should be made by an attaché of the American Embassy in Berlin.<sup>1</sup>

A general permit to "visit the places of internment of prisoners of war in the United Kingdom" was given to the American Embassy on January 27, 1915. Every facility was offered for a complete inspection of all the camps in the United Kingdom. A comprehensive report was filed at

<sup>1</sup> The American ambassador asked me to-day whether the American Embassy would be allowed, as reports were being made in Germany about the treatment of German civilians in England, to send some one to visit the Germans interned in Newbury and Newcastle.

The ambassador also said that he had received specific complaints from Germans interned in Queensferry.

He has given me the following copy of a letter from the American ambassador in Berlin.

The object of the Ambassador's enquiry is simply, by bringing out the facts, to prevent false etatements from doing harm in Germany, and at the same time, I assume, to contribute to the remedying of any grievances that may exist. The American Ambassador in Berlin is, I know, doing all in his neutral to contribute to the British which the factors of the same terms of the

The American Ambassador in Berlin is, I know, doing all in his power to seeure good treatment for British subjects in Germany and I think that it would be desirable to let the American Embassy here have full information as to our treatment of Germans.

I have, etc., E. GBEY.

Foreign Office, November 13, 1914.



English prisoners, tagged, and posed in a "happy group"

the Embassy in Berlin on February 27, 1915, and transmitted to the German Government.

In the meantime the German public became very much concerned over the internment of German civilians in England and Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

While reprisal action was immediately taken in Germany the force of public opinion and the very large numbers of German civilians involved, unquestionably influenced the German Government to accept the British proposition for a recip-

#### 1 MR. GERARD TO MR. PAGE

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BERLIN, November 8, 1914.

Sir:

Although it may already be too late to be of much practical effect, I feel it my duty, in the interest of humanity, to urge you to obtain some formal declaration on the part of the British Government as to its purpose in ordering the wholesale concentration of Germans in Great Britain and Ireland, as is understood here to be the case. It is known here that many of the Germans interned belong to the laboring classes, and that their position is actually improved by their internment, and it is recognised that the British Government has the right to arrest persons when any wellfounded ground for suspecting them to be spies exists. Great popular resentment has been created by the reports of the arrest of other Germans, however, and the German authorities cannot explain or understand why German travellers who have been taken from ocean steamers should not be permitted to remain at liberty, of course under police control, even if they are compelled to stay in England. The order for the general concentration of British males between the ages of 17 and 55, which went into effect on the 6th instant, was occasioned by the pressure of public opinion, which has been still further excited by the newspaper reports of a considerable number of deaths in the concentration camps. Up to the 6th considerable liberty of movement had been allowed to British subjects in Germany, and, as you were informed in my telegram of the 5th, many petitions were received from them setting forth the favorable conditions under which they were permitted to live and to carry on their business, and urging the similar treatment of German subjects in

rocal inspection. As far as the prisoners of war were concerned the British Government had already permitted Mr. Lowry, an attaché of the American Embassy at London to keep in close touch with all the British prison camps. He was permitted freely to visit and inspect them. Nothing was therefore to be gained from the German standpoint. The possibility of the withdrawal of this privilege, however, and the force of public opinion in Germany led to an eventual agreement.

This agreement was as follows: "Principles for securing information concerning the condition of prisoners in belligerent countries:—

"1. The belligerents undertake to transmit to those countries whose subjects are held by them as prisoners of war, whether combatant or noncombatant, a compilation of the provisions which they have adopted for the treatment of prisoners to include those relating to lodging, clothing, and food, as well as correspondence and the forwarding of money and presents in kind. In case any supplementary regulations have been issued in single detention camps, such regulations shall be made known to the diplomatic or consular repre-

England. I cannot but feel that to a great extent the English action and the German retaliation has been caused by a misunderstanding which we should do our best to remove. It seems to me that we should do all in our power to prevent an increase of the bitterness which seems to have arisen between the German and English peoples, and to make it possible for the two countries to become friends on the close of the war.

I have, etc., JAMES W. GEBAED. sentatives who have charge of the protection of the prisoners when they inspect such camps.

General permission to inspect the deten-"2. tion camps shall be given to the chiefs of the diplomatic missions who have charge of the protection of the prisoners, as well as to the diplomatic or consular officers of their country who may be designated by them. They shall announce visits to the commanders of the camp to hear their wishes and complaints. The conversations shall not. however, embrace other subjects than such wishes and complaints, except with the express permission of the commander of the camp. Before leaving the camp, the diplomatic or consular representative will notify the commander of any wishes and complaints, and will not submit to the superior authorities of the commander unless the commander declares himself unable or unwilling to consider the wishes or to remedy conditions forming the subject of complaint."

In accord with this agreement permission was granted to certain members of the Embassy Staff to visit all places of internment provided that notice of the expected visit should be given in advance to the commandant of the camp. This latter provision was not altogether acceptable to the British Government and was eventually modified so as to permit the inspection without previous notice. It will be seen later that while the idea that prompted this protest was that preparation for the inspection might be made it was afterwards

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clearly proven that such notice did not militate against proper and complete inspection.

The permission granted in form is as follows:

# AUTHORIZATION PERMISSION

# DR. D. J. MCCARTHY

"Is hereby permitted to visit without previous notice, all prison camps and hospitals in which English and Servian prisoners of war and civilians are interned. Working camps and prisons can likewise be visable after application to the Representative of the Army Corps without previous notice. The local authorities are requested to afford the above named protection and assistance.

"According to the official regulation for the inspection of the camp the holder of this permit is allowed to converse with the prisoners alone out of hearing of the camp authorities. Conversations with such prisoners of war who are undergoing punishment can be held only in the presence of a near witness. Dr. D. J. McCarthy will before the beginning of the inspection present himself personally with this permission to the commandant of the camp or his representative, in hospitals to the chef or surgeon in charge, in prisons and working camps to the officers in charge. This permission is not valid for the camps, etc., in districts under the Bavarian, Saxon or Würtemberg ministries of war.

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"He is requested to return this document to the Prussian Ministry of War, when the purpose for which it has been issued has been completed.

"It will be here noted that four separate permits were issued by the Ministries of War respectively of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Würtemberg. It was understood politics would not be discussed and the inspection of the Embassy agreed not to discuss the war or subjects foreign to the matters directly concerned with the detail of inspection."

Like privileges were granted to the American Embassy in London for an inspection and control of camps for the internment of German soldiers and civilians in Great Britain. A similar agreement was entered into between the Central Powers in France under control of the Spanish Embassy. An understanding rather than an agreement existed, that the Spanish Embassy should do the same for Russian prisoners of war. This was assumed on account of the fact that the Spanish Government represented the Russian interests in Germany.

The Ambassador at Berlin immediately assigned several attachés of the Embassy to this work and requested some of the American consular agents to visit camps near their respective consulates.

It is rather interesting to note that from the simple permission in Section 2 to visit army camps in order to listen to complaints, that there grew out of this by degrees a full and complete military inspection, embracing not only a careful survey of all the physical conditions within the camp but a detailed inspection of the prisoners themselves; a review of sanitary conditions, diplomatic matters in reference to the exchange of wounded men, correction of hospital abuses and review of judicial matters in reference to court martials, etc. Once the principle of inspection was established surely the very military German commandant could not very well object to a military inspection. A military inspection included all of the above.

When one glances over the early reports of camp inspection they appear fragmentary and incomplete; this is largely due, however, to the difficulties above mentioned and to the fact that the general idea had to be slowly developed against resistance and offtimes refusal to make the inspection complete. To develop and establish a principle of inspection to bring it up to its present status of scientific completeness, is I take it, a definite achievement; a precedent for use in future wars, if unhappily there should be such. .It will indeed relieve much suffering. I have no doubt that in the future this matter will be established as a principle of International Law, and be embodied in Conventions such as those established at the Hague. It was indeed fortunate that in this work the Embassy had the services of a military surgeon, an expert in sanitation, who with unsurpassed tact laid the foundations through two years of the development of this idea. I refer to Dr. Karl Ohnesorg, Assistant Attaché at the American Embassy at Berlin.

# CHAPTER II

#### THE ARMY CORPS AND THEIR PRISON PROBLEM

WHILE the German Foreign Office in response to public opinion and as a result of protests based on the reports of Major V—(see Appendix) and others might agree to reciprocal inspection, the German Army Corps and German officers resented any inspection by a neutral and more particularly by members of the Diplomatic Service, who were, with a single exception, not even military men. One can well imagine the mental attitude of a general in the German Army towards a youthful attaché who presumed to criticise anything that he did.

During the first six months many problems were presented which gave rise to considerable friction between the inspection service of the Embassy and the German authorities. That some misunderstandings should develop was naturally to be expected. The problem was altogether new and the machinery for carrying it out was at first rather limited. It became evident, however, from the beginning that the decentralization of the German Government due to war conditions was responsible to a large extent for not only a lack of harmony in co-operating with the idea of the inspection but even to a greater degree in securing redress for evils existing.

The Empire is divided into twenty one army districts. In war time the government of each district is placed in the hands of a general and his staff, technically known as an army corps command. For all practical purposes this represents the full governmental authority of the district assigned to the army corps command. Under the military system and during a period of martial law the power of the general in command was practically absolute. While theoretically he is responsible to the Ministry of War of the individual German State in which the army corps district is located and while this is responsible in a way to the Central Government at Berlin the army corps commander has so much authority that it would appear as if this authority were final. This is confirmed by the attitude of the army corps commanders not only in a military but often in a general way.

The attitude indeed of some of these commanders became so bumptious that it became a matter of discussion in the Reichstag. Notwithstanding the military government during the war, the Reichstag still holds its sessions to listen to the chancellor and to discuss matters which the speaker may permit open for discussion. After the Liebknecht affair this power was delegated to the speaker. In the discussion before mentioned one of the delegates to the Reichstag read

a letter sent by one of the army corps commanders in reply to one of his constituents who protested to the injustice of the censorship in reference to business matters. The army corps commander replied that he and his delegate might protest as much as they liked but that he had the power and would do as he pleased in the matter. In this letter he stated: "We (the army corps commanders)" are the ministry. We are the Bundesrat. We are the imperial chancellor. We are the Reichstag." He only stopped short of saying: "We are the Kaiser." This delegate stated: "I am not surprised at this sentence, for the Gotthanlichkeit (Likeness to gods) which these commanding generals have assumed on the basis of the authority they have taken over, can scarcely be surpassed.

This attitude of the army corps commanders found like expression in the attitude of the various State Ministries of War of Saxony, Bavaria, and Würtemberg towards the Central Prussian Ministry of War in Berlin.

While in theory the Ministry of War in Berlin is in supreme control, as a matter of fact, it was often found that orders issued by it were not carried out by the Ministries of War of the Individual States or the army corps commanders in their district. A bureau existed in the Prussian War Ministry which was supposed to have control of all prisoners of war. This was found to be so only in theory. War Ministries of the individual states had direct control of all the prisoners within the limit of their respective states. This principle was insisted upon to the extent that individual permissions from the respective ministries of war had to be secured before prison camps in their districts were visited. The permission granted by the Prussian Central Minister of War was not sufficient and would not be honored.

It was a matter of experience that where any conflict of authority arose the Central Minister of War usually conceded the point to the local state ministry or to the individual army corps commands. Matters often became so involved that one gathered the suspicion that problems pressed by a neutral embassy could be delayed or their solution prevented by this diffusion of authority. In matters of this kind one always had the feeling that the German Government was all arms and legs and no head. This was true not only in problems concerning the prisoner of war but in diplomatic matters generally. It was easy enough to get hold of an important member but when serious matters were at issue it was absolutely impossible to find the head. This condition of affairs was all the more serious in the prisoner of war situation.

While the Central Government was at times sensitive to outside or at least neutral public opinion the army corps commands were often totally indifferent to it. Here the contrast between the military point of view and that of the German people as represented by their Central Government was very evident. Not only were the German people like the Foreign Office sensitive to outside criticism of the prisoner of war situation but were often at great pains to defend their treatment of the prisoner even when they knew nothing more about it than what occasional contact with those assigned to working on the farms and on the roads gave to them. While direct criticism was as a rule not published, articles in the public prints concerning reprisals and other matters always led to a certain amount of information leaking out which gave a clue to foreign criticism. The Central Government with more information as to neutral feeling and opinion was disposed in a general way to avoid the occasion for increasing resentment over the treatment of the prisoner of war. The army corps commanders on the other hand representing as they do the principles and methods of thought of the German Army were concerned wholly with obtaining results in the most direct way, and did not care what the outside world thought of them or their methods. The shortest distance between two points was the shortest line to them. It was quite immaterial that human rights and human beings should stand in the way of such a line of action.

The German military mind is trained to efficiency. Efficiency means results. The prisoner of war problem is a military problem. The military idea of the shortest line to results irrespective of human rights and human feeling was applied to the prisoner of war problem even when



The littlest Russian soldier prisoner with his Prussian "guard of honor"

the industrial complications made the working problem predominate over the military aspect to such an extent as to make the latter negligible.

When it became necessary to make the prisoner of war work, a failure to obtain results would be a reflection on their military efficiency. Here the same principle was evolved as that in the Belgian deportation; methods harsh, brutal and often inhuman were justified in order to secure results and good practice. If a deported Belgian or a prisoner of war was starved to exhaustion and died in the process, he was still to be forced into a position where he would work, otherwise their military system was wrong, and how could that be? I have no doubt that facing an identical situation where their own men were involved, they would have had as little hesitation in using similar measures.

Officers high in rank were placed in charge of prison camps, the rank of general was not uncommon. The commandant of the camp was therefore very often the same military grade as the army corps commander, who was the military governor of the district over which he presided. He represented the military idea and enforced it throughout his entire staff. It was not surprising therefore that the prisoner of war problem was properly or improperly handled just in so far as it gave military results and not in accord with any humane principles. It was stated to me on one occasion by a German army inspector of high rank in excuse for the flagrant violation of almost every human consideration in one of the German prison camps, that the military authorities had placed a general in charge of this camp and had expected him to produce results. They had left the administration of the camp to him, assuming that he had the rank to enforce authority over his own subordinates and the brains to do it properly, but that unfortunately he followed too closely the letter of the regulations, etc.

The commandant of the civilian camp at Ruhleben in a personal reply to a published report concerning his camp when it was stated that criticism was not aimed at him personally but to the food conditions in charge of an officer of the ministry of war replied: "I am my camp; any criticism of my camp is a criticism of me personally."

Many of the commandants of the German prison camps like Graf Schwerin at Ruhleben were men of kindly impulses and sincerely interested in the welfare and comfort of the men assigned to their keeping and for whom on the part of the prisoner of war there was sincere affection. They were, however, a part of the military system and could not entirely escape it. Such men were often handicapped by the military regulations, sometimes by the facilities at their disposal for the care of the prisoners, sometimes by the organization, as in the food situation at Ruhleben and sometimes by their own lack of executive ability to properly use materials at hand or to force their own organization through the military red tape. The commandant at Parchim in charge of a camp of thirty five thousand men stated to me that, "recalled to military duty from his own business he had firmly resolved to come out of this difficult and disagreeable duty with a clean conscience." He succeeded in infusing this spirit through his entire staff with the end result that care and consideration for the prisoner of war was evident throughout the camp.

It may be stated that as a rule that not only the staff but the noncommissioned officers and the members of the guard all take their cue as to the treatment of the prisoner of war from the commandant. If the commandant is influenced by humane principles and a kindly spirit one may expect to find the entire camp with this atmosphere. If, on the other hand, the commandant is a military martinet with brutal and inhuman instincts the whole atmosphere of the camp even down to the lowest positions is harsh and inhuman. "Alles hängt von commandant ab" (Everything depends on the commandant), was a frequent saying on the part of those who had the work in charge. As a matter of experience one could almost tell from his estimate of the commandant at the time of the formal call before the inspection of the camp what sort of a camp he had to expect. Strangely enough when one looks over the

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history of the prisoner of war one is impressed with the fact that not only now but far back into the middle ages that "Alles hangt von commandant ab."

# CHAPTER III

### THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE PRISONER OF WAR

A UGUST 1st, 1916, the number of prisoners of war officially given out by the German Government was as follows<sup>1</sup>:

	OFFICERS	MEN
French	5947	348,731
Russians	9019	1,202,871
Belgians	656	41,751
British		29,956
Servians		22,914
Total		. 1,646,223

These prisoners were distributed in 105 prison camps. In addition to these camps for men and noncommissioned officers there were camps for commissioned officers. In addition to this there were three camps for civilians interned and one camp for reserve officers. Inasmuch as the problem must be considered as essentially a military problem and inasmuch as the dictum of the German officers, "That good soldiers make good prisoners," we will consider these phases of the prob-

<sup>1</sup> On July 1, 1917, the number of prisoners of war in Germany was held to be about 1,700,000, only a few prisoners having been taken since August, 1916. lem. As a military problem one would naturally expect like other military matters it would be organized and treated with the greatest efficiency. That it was not handled with complete efficiency. that certain glaring defects developed from time to time was due largely to the fact that it was an entirely new problem, and in its magnitude, was unexpected. Evidently no forethought or provision had been made for it; like other military operations it could not have been a part of military manœuvres or military practice. To house and provide food and guard one and a half millions of men, at a time when all the forces of the nation were centred on the destruction of the opposing army will I think be admitted to be a rather large problem. Just as soon, however, as the problem of housing and care in concentrated camps was worked out in a fairly satisfactory manner, the labor and food problem in Germany led to the employment of at least 80 per cent of the prisoners of war in mercantile and agricultural pursuits with the creation of entirely new problems, much more complex and with more possibilities for trouble than was met with in the concentrated camps.

In the concentration camps, known technically as parent camps, the prisoner of war was treated in the best camps on a complete military basis. While this was contrary to the military regulations, the right type of commandant was found to get the best results by this method. The prisoner of war was held to the same military discipline under his own noncommissioned officers as in active field service in his own army. The ranking noncommissioned officers, a sergeant-major or the senior noncommissioned officer placed therein, was held responsible for the discipline and control of the men assigned to him. Orders for camp duty for outside work were issued to the noncommissioned officer and transmitted by him to the battalion or barrack sergeant. The noncommissioned officers were held responsible for the military bearing of the enlisted men, for their clothes and appearance for the proper attitude towards the German officers in the matter of salute, etc. In this way discipline could be obtained and the authority of the noncommissioned officer upheld.

The enlisted men receive various types of punishment suggested by the noncommissioned officer and ordered by the German staff officer in command of the camp.

The noncommissioned officer in such a camp occupied an important and dignified position. He had the welfare of his men at heart and when efficient, instilled an attitude of pride and military bearing under adverse conditions. Such a fighting spirit "to see it through" as a member of his army should, was a great help in keeping up the morale and in the prevention of mental depression.

In the majority of the German prison camps such a complete organization was not only not insisted upon but not even permitted. In such camps there was an increase of friction, and a lack of co-operation not manifested in the completely organized camps. The attitude of the commandant of these camps was that the guard placed in each barrack was in complete command and that the noncommissioned officer had no rights over the enlisted men which he was bound to respect. The temptation to such a guard who always had a musket with bayonet fixed in his hand to enforce his authority with unnecessary violence was often too much to be resisted.

In many camps an intermediate position was taken with limited authority given to the noncommissioned officer. While in some instances the excuse given that the prisoner noncommissioned officer did not show the right spirit of co-operation might be true it is only fair to state that in my experience, the noncommissioned officers, and more particularly the British officers, were a fine body of men actuated by the highest principles not only in the care and the comfort and the welfare of their own men but also in the maintenance of discipline and the full co-operation with the German camp authorities, when the attitude of the latter was half reasonable. On the other hand they had the courage to insist upon the rights of the prisoner of war as men and as soldiers and to maintain this attitude even under terms of severe punishment. For the Canadian noncommissioned officer too much cannot be said in praise of him.

Under the German system it was, therefore, possible for a commandant to treat his prisoners as criminals without any rights, he was bound to respect guarding him from day to day at the point of the bayonet and permitting these guards to use unnecessary brutality in enforcing their commands. Under these circumstances one was not surprised to find that occasionally severe injury and at times the death of the prisoner of war resulted from some action of the guard. The commander at Schneidemuhl stated that, "it was better for the guard to use his musket or bayonet on the prisoner, rather than the prisoner should be tried by court martial and sentenced to long years of imprisonment." To this naturally we were compelled to disagree, both as to the principle and the necessity for it.

In one of the deaths reported at Limburg, to be considered in detail later, one of the Irish prisoners was shot by the guard, according to the statement furnished us by the commandant when there were a sufficient number of people in the room to control the prisoner who was under the influence of alcohol, permitted by the same guard. In practically all such cases serious consequences could be traced to the attitude of the commanding authorities of the camp towards the prisoner and the natural reaction attitude of the guard to a reckless and brutal point of view of the officer over him. It is sufficient that the harsh and brutal treatment of the Irish prisoners led to the shooting of the prisoners by the guard following the failure of the attempt of the German military authorities to convert this camp into a political camp and to seduce the prisoners from their allegiance to Great Britain. While such conditions were bad enough in parent camps under almost the direct supervision of the commandant and his staff when these prisoners were removed to working camps at some distance from the parent camps and when the guard, an enlisted soldier and not an officer. had unlimited authority, conditions often became unbearable and serious consequences not infrequently ensued. On the other hand the commandant when he was so disposed evidently had the right to treat the prisoner of war in an entirely different manner, to regard him not as a criminal but as a brave man who had put his life in jeopardy for his own country and what he believed to be right. Such a commandant in treating the prisoner of war as a soldier not only permitted but encouraged the complete military organization of the prisoners under his charge, but also gave to the noncommissioned officer that respect for his position which made his own men respect and obey In working camps under his jurisdiction him. he assigned whenever possible and when the number of prisoners justified it a prisoner noncommissioned officer to take charge of his own men under orders from the German guard and to effect that co-operation so essential for the welfare of the prisoner and for effective results from their labor. It will therefore be seen that military organization of the prisoner of war according to his own standards could under a properly thought out scheme be maintained even in the working camps.

The general principle that the prisoner of war was always a military problem was insisted upon by the inspection of the embassy. We assumed and acted upon the theory that even when the prisoner of war was assigned to work he was to take orders only from the German guard either directly or through his own noncommissioned officer; that the foreman or other officers of working corporations in industrial plants had no right to give orders to the prisoner of war except through the German guard. It was found that when this principle was violated that it always led to trouble. The feeling of hostility of the German workman to a prisoner of war and more particularly towards the British led him when permitted to give orders to do this harshly and often to enforce it with actual brutality.

"A good soldier is a good prisoner of war." This is unquestionably true under a proper military organization of the camp and the working camp. It is not true under improper organization and maladministration. The good prisoner of war trained to efficient organization reacts properly and in a favorable way to an organization that is along right military lines; when he is treated as an interned soldier and not as a criminal. The prisoner of war as a rule has a keen sense of justice and right action and is willing to obey when he understands what is expected of him and the command is just according to the principles under which he is interned. When the German military authorities posted a notice on the barracks of the prisoner of war camps and claimed for its justification the principles imbodied in the Hague Convention, the prisoner of war has a right to assume and does assume that the other principles imbodied in that document, if it govern his own action should govern the attitude of the German Government towards him.

It was found necessary in a proper inspection of the prisoner of war camps for the members of the inspection to maintain always a military point of view towards the problems presented to them. No other position could be taken in matters of conflict between the prisoner of war and German military authority, that the prisoner of war was in the first place a prisoner and in the second place a soldier. That he was always expected to obey orders no matter what the orders were. Third, that if he considered the order unjust that he had the right to appeal to the American Embassy in Berlin, who would then take up the matter with the Central German Government and have it rectified. While the German Government had every right to expect that the American Embassy having charge of British interests and expected us to take this attitude in the interests of harmony and avoidance of conflict, we on the other hand had the right to expect the German Government to live up to their assurance that the right of a prisoner of war to communicate with the embassy should in all cases be respected. As a matter of fact, this right was not only not respected, but in so many instances violated not only indeed in reference to the common soldier but even to the officer prisoners of war that it may be stated that it was more honored in the breach than in its observance. The German military authorities hid behind the quibble that they had the right to censor all communications sent out from prison camps and when they found that when complaints addressed to the Embassy were without foundation, in fact, they declined to transmit such complaints, in other words they were judges and jury in matters often of life and death and they themselves were the accused. The attitude on the part of the German military authorities led the American embassy to take the position that a rigorous and frequent inspection of every prisoner of war camp in Germany was not only advisable but absolutely necessary if injustice to the prisoner of war in his rights and in his person was to be avoided, and this notwithstanding the fact that the German Government had its own inspection of the prisoner of war camps and by all rules of the popular idea of German efficiency, as applied to military matters, should have been satisfactory and efficient. As we proceed we shall see why this inspection failed and how far the inspection by the military governments was successful in compensating for this failure.

In dealing with this subject I have not been led and will not consider whether the treatment of the prisoner of war in other countries was better or worse than that meted out to him in Germany but will face this problem as a scientific and humane problem along sociological and social service lines.

## CHAPTER IV

#### TECHNIQUE OF INSPECTION

THE information upon which the statements in the succeeding chapters have been founded are either matters of personal experience or this combined with the records of the inspection for prisoners of war for the American Embassy. Before entering upon a consideration of the various matters in connection with the prisoner of war situation I will state the method used by the inspection for the actual inspection of the various camps, the collection of data and the disposition made of it. During the first five or six months of the inspection the various attachés of the Embassy were assigned to this duty. While all of these men were members of the diplomatic service and imbued with the idea of doing this work in an honest and conscientious manner the complexity of the problem was such that at first reports were incomplete. This was due largely to a lack of system, and survey of the problem and to a certain extent to a lack of training to consider the matter from a scientific standpoint. One of the attachés, however, Dr. Karl Ohnesorg, passed Assistant Surgeon of the United States Navy who was connected

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with the Embassy as Assistant Naval Attaché, for a period of almost two years devoted his time almost exclusively to this work, and in spite of the limitations placed upon his activity by his military status he did exceptional work in the organization of the Inspection Service. His medical and military training especially fitted him for this work. His associate in the Embassy, Ellis L. Dresel, by profession an attorney at law, carried into this work a legal training which proved of great importance in complementing the qualifications of Dr. Ohnesorg. Too much cannot be said in praise of the results obtained by these two men under adverse circumstances. It is well to bear in mind that both these men were of mature age and of exceptionally good personality. It was unfortunate that in the early days of the inspection service and at times even to the termination of it that young men, on account of the dearth of assistance in the Embassy were assigned to this service. It will be recalled that those placed in charge of prison camps were men of high rank in the German Army. For a young man just out of college to presume to tell a general in the German Army how to run his camp was naturally looked upon as presumptuous. Such a younger man was often, if not always, in awe of these officers and unless they had that assurance which comes from exceptional knowledge or exceptional training, were not warranted in taking a firm position in reference to either abuses or violations of the



Fumigating the clothes of prisoners



rights of the prisoner of war. As a matter of fact unless such qualifications existed many matters, which a more experienced man would detect could easily be overlooked if the commandant so willed For this and other reasons in my report to it. the Embassy I insisted that such younger men should be used as assistants or secretaries to men of more mature years, insight or judgment who would have charge of the inspection. I further recommended that such other men having charge of the inspection should be trained physicians with the working knowledge of large social service problems, hygiene and hospital or camp inspection, with some knowledge of military form and procedure and with sufficient assurance and tact to stand firmly for their rights in the inspection and for the correction of evils wherever they existed. It would appear that these were high qualifications to expect in one man. After the organization of the inspection a man fulfilling all these qualifications, C. L. Furbush, was assigned to this work.

It was the intention of Ambassador Gerard to assign two other men of this caliber to this work, but diplomatic relations were broken before this could be accomplished. It was evident that with such a complex problem, there must be a systematic and detailed inspection of the individual camps with a follow up principle added if complete results were to be obtained.

#### DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROBLEM

Perhaps the greatest difficulty encountered was the attitude of the German military authorities to the inspection of their camps. While as a rule polite and considerate to the members of the Embassy it was evident that they resented an inspection as a reflection on their camps. This was due in part to the attitude taken by the British Government that inspection should be made without previous notice and in part to the practice of the Embassy of making an immediate inspection of the camp whenever a complaint reached the British Government or the Embassy that conditions in the camp were unsatisfactory. Commandants as a result of this came to look upon an inspection as an investigation and naturally took a resistant attitude. When, however, they came to realize that an inspection was an inspection and nothing more and that good conditions were praised with the same fairness that bad conditions were condemned and that the inspection was to become a routine matter to be made at regular stated intervals, this attitude largely disappeared. The same effect was noted when a right of surprise inspection was not insisted upon and previous notice of the inspection was actually served on the com-What little value there might be to an mandant. inspection without notice was not compensated for by the resistance created by notification. While this latter might be of some value to an amateur

inspector it was of relatively little or no value to an inspector of experience, training and judgment. In a camp of from ten to forty thousand men even if it were possible to change conditions so as to prepare for an inspection it would disturb the routine of the camp too much, in order to effect this and be inconsistent with the routine methods of the German mind. Inasmuch as prisoners could be examined out of hearing of the guard it was a perfectly easy matter to determine whether the food exhibited on the day of inspection was of a different quality or quantity than that of the previous week or even month. Careful questioning of the noncommissioned officers, examined separately, and of the enlisted men prisoners of war, would give accurate information not only as to this but as to other matters in connection with the camp.

In order therefore to eliminate the necessity for previous notice and in order that each and every prisoner of war might have the opportunity to make a complaint or to give information of value for the inspection, the following routine outline of inspection was developed. In the early days of the inspection it was not considered polite or respectful to the German authorities to make written notes either of conditions or complaints registered by the men. When, however, a detailed and printed form of inspection with certain spaces to be filled in were exhibited at the beginning of the inspection and filled out as the inspection pro-

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gressed this had not only the contrary effect, but rather impressed the camp authorities with the idea that the inspection was to be routine and thorough. (See Appendix.)

### RULES FOR CAMP INSPECTION

If previous notice has been decided upon a call is made at army headquarters, the general commanding the army corps is called upon and a card left for him. A visit is then made to the department of prisoners of war of the army corps. The officer in command of this division, after the authorization papers have been presented, is then told what camp or camps the inspector intends to visit; he is then requested to detail an officer to accompany the inspection party of the Embassy.

This latter is advised and is found to work out well in practice. The officer detailed from the army corps does not feel any particular camp to be his personal responsibility and can be made to see unfavorable conditions from the view point of the neutral; complaints as to harsh and brutal treatment can be investigated on the spot and remedial measures immediately ordered without too much delay. At the beginning of the camp inspection an official visit is paid to the commandant of the camp where the authorization papers are again presented. The commandant is requested then to furnish from his records the following information:

A. Total number of prisoners in the camp.

B. Total number of prisoners for which the camp was constructed.

C. Total number of British prisoners. Total number of French prisoners. Total number of Russian prisoners. Total number of Servian prisoners.

D. Number of prisoners confined in the hospital. List of prisoners who have died, and cause of death.

E. Number of prisoners assigned to working camps, with the list of the various working camps under the control of the parent camp in which British or Servians are found.

F. Number of British or Servian prisoners of war, if either, a, in punishment barracks, b, in the camp jail.

G. A plan of the camp if such plan is not already on file at the Embassy.

The commandant of the camp should then be asked if he has any statement to make in reference to the British or Servian prisoners in the camp or working camps. If such statements are made in reference to particular cases, careful note should be made at the time or if this is deemed inadvisable detailed notes should be made immediately after the inspection.

It was usual for the commandant and his camp officer and sometimes his entire staff to accompany the inspection party.

At the outset of the inspection a request was made that the senior British noncommissioned officer should be sent for and permitted to assist in the inspection. This was usually permitted without question and in those cases where it was objected to, it was insisted upon. Upon his arrival the senior noncommissioned officer was asked to make a report of the British prisoners under his command. This was done advisedly in order to assume that a military organization of the prisoners of war existed and that he, a senior noncommissioned officer would naturally be expected to know of conditions of the men under him. He was asked specifically to report on the general treatment of the men, discipline, clothing, shoes, housing, etc., and to any knowledge he might have of working camp conditions either from direct observation or from reports of prisoners having returned from such camps. After these matters were noted the inspection of the camps was begun, taking each battalion in succession. Each barrack in which prisoners of war were confined was then inspected. Prisoners of war were lined up in military formation outside the barrack under the command of the noncommissioned officer of the barrack. Clothing, shoes, and general appearance was then individually The senior noncommissioned officer annoted. nounced to the men that the inspectors were from the American Embassy in Berlin, and that they represented the interest of the British Government. If any one had any complaint to make he would be permitted to do so in private. Any prisoner having such a complaint was ordered to step out of the ranks. Each complaint was heard separately out of hearing of the German officers and of the other prisoners. After recording the name and number of the prisoner of war, careful notes were made of the complaint. After all the complaints had been registered a short address was made to the men in which their attention was called to the fact that they were still under their own military discipline and that they were expected to take orders from their own noncommissioned officer in command. Their attention. when necessary, was also called to the necessity of maintaining a strict military bearing and a neat soldierly appearance in order to maintain the traditions of their own army.

The barracks were then inspected; measured as to cubic air content, the number of windows, ventilation, cleanliness, the type and arrangements of beds, nature of the bedding, number of blankets, heating and lighting arrangements and any details such as tables for eating, rooms for noncommissioned officers, etc., noted.

Each successive barrack with its man content was inspected in the same way. After all the barracks had been inspected a detailed inspection of the hospital was made. Careful notes were made as to the size, ventilation, heat, lighting, bed content, bathing facilities and general hospital equipment. This inspection is made with the physician in charge. Each British prisoner in the hospital was then visited, his name, regiment and diagnosis noted; his condition inquired into and any complaint or request noted and registered. A note was also made of the number of physicians in charge, their rank and nationality, number of orderlies, etc.

The camp jail was then inspected and any prisoners confined therein were examined and careful note made of the charges against them, their statement of the case, etc. (The examination of men under arrest in the jail and in the punishment barracks had to be made in the presence of the German officers according to the agreement stated in the authorization. Punishment barracks were then visited and the inspection carried out as in that of the jail. In this way every prisoner confined in the camp had the opportunity of making requests or complaints as to his condition, his food, his treatment, etc. Inspection was then made of the kitchens and the meal prepared during the inspection was inspected in preparation and tested. Food stores were inspected and in those camps where bread was baked, the bakery was also inspected. Sanitary arrangements were carefully noted as to type, size, cleanliness and position with reference to the barracks, etc., opportunities for exercise and amusement, for religious services, library, the censoring department of letters: the department of and censoring of food packages, arrangements for bathing, etc.



Camp laundry

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When this inspection was completed a conference was held with the commandant in reference to any matters that might have developed during the inspection. A request was then made that all matters agreed upon as valid complaints should be corrected. The commandant was then told that it was a matter of definite routine and the Embassy expected to reinspect the camp in four months. If conditions were bad an inspection was to be made within a month.

Inspection for officer prisoners of war was made very much after the same fashion; it was, however, found difficult to keep such inspections systematic on account of the differences in housing. The senior officer usually reported for his etc. camp and the officers under him; he also reported for the enlisted personnel of war serving as orderlies. The inspection of quarters both for officers and men followed the same routine as in the large parent camps. As far as possible all the officers found in quarters were given the privilege of making complaints or filing requests to be transmitted by the Embassy. It was found, however, that the senior commanding officer was in close touch with all his men and his report was usually so comprehensive that little was added to it from Inspection of the workthe individual interviews. ing camps followed in a general way the inspection of the parent camp. The detail of this will be considered in the chapter on working camps.

#### DISPOSITION OF REPORTS

At the termination of a day's work of inspection reports were drawn up of each individual camp and elaborated in despatch form used in the diplomatic service. The notes taken at the time of inspection were used as a basis in this report. Matters under discussion with the commandant or the army corps in the absence of stenographic notes were reported as far as possible in the exact words used in the interview. Complaints of prisoners, however, were always taken down verbatim.

The early reports were arranged in narrative form. It became evident, however, that reports like the inspection itself must be systematized and arranged in some definite order for easy reference and compilation of statistics. This arrangement followed in a general way the form used in the description of the parent camp and the working camps.

The report and more particularly the diplomatic matters contained therein were passed upon by the ambassador. Two copies were sent to the German Foreign Office, two copies to the British Foreign Office through the American Embassy in London, two copies to the State Department in Washington, and two copies kept on file at the American Embassy at Berlin. The copies sent to the German Foreign Office and later to the German Ministry of War, were eventually sent through the army corps command to the commandant of the camp inspected.

According to the rules of the inspection department of the Embassy only matters of fact were to be included in the reports. The personal opinion of the inspector was not to be expressed. This naturally limited the report both as to form and substance. While it had certain disadvantages it always kept the reports more than fair to the German Government and avoided giving offense. Matters of fact could be substantiated and controlled.

During the first year of the war certain adverse matters were withheld from the reports with the hope that the evils could be more easily corrected and possibly with the idea of placating the German officials and to relieve the irritation produced by the report of adverse conditions. The German official does not, however, appreciate this form of courtesy. They rather looked upon it as weakness and lack of experience. To an officer high in the staff of the German army corps I stated that, "If I had his assurance that certain evils would be corrected. I would include his assurance in my report but that I would nevertheless make a report of the conditions as found." He replied that he understood this perfectly; that a report was a report and unless it included everything observed it was of no value. The determination to report adverse conditions in this case was the most important factor in securing the re-

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forms demanded. Any weakness in this regard would have been met with a reluctance to make any changes; even when it was found that reforms were later effected any reply to criticism and admission to wrong doing was never secured and the changed conditions were often noted in subsequent inspections. By the above method of disposition of reports the German Government was kept always in close touch with the work of the inspection and its point of view. In a survey of all the reports submitted I cannot recall a case where an attitude was taken which was at all unfair to the German Government. On the contrary, reports were often mild expressions of conditions which could very easily and justly have been made to appear much worse than stated.



Map showing location of prison camps

# CHAPTER V

### THE PARENT CAMP

THE statement has already been made that "the commandant was his camp." This was due in large part to the latitude given to the commandant in regard to practically all matters of discipline, preparation of food, organization of the camp, etc. There were, however, certain general regulations issued by the Central Ministry of War which gave rise to much trouble, and were responsible for the flagrant violation of the rights of the prisoners. The most important regulation in this respect or, to put it in a different way, the regulation most potent for trouble from their own standpoint and from pain and suffering and discontent on the part of the prisoner, was that issued to the effect that all prisoners Russian, French, British, Belgians and Servians should be confined in the same camps and share the same When to this mixture was added the barracks. French Colonial, Negro, Mussulman and the British Colonials from India, the possibilities of social inconvenience can be imagined. This was true of both officers as well as men. The explanation given was "in order to demonstrate to these prisoners that they were not neutral allies." Tt was evident, therefore, that this inconvenience was intended by the German authorities. Such an act was followed by just retribution. The American Embassy insisted from the beginning on a separation of the different races. It made representations to the Foreign Office that the British be confined in separate camps. This request was always met by a refusal. The Germans said they were allies, and if they could fight together they should be quartered together. The difference in customs and habits of life, more particularly in reference to food and ventilation, produced dissatisfaction and accentuated discontent. In overcrowded barracks the Russians insisted upon having everything closed tight. The French, while sensitive to odors, were mortally afraid of a courant d'air. The English Tommy, after the open life of the campaign, insisted on fresh air and often went to the trouble to fight for it, even though he had to suffer punishment in a stuffy jail after he got it. In matters of food and recreation, in methods of both work and play, racial differences led to irritation and were often subversive of discipline. This led to peculiar atmospheres in various camps. In some camps the English despised the French but were sympathetic towards the Russian; in the other camps the reverse was true. The same was true in the attitude towards the Belgians and the Belgians towards the other groups. The Allied feeling of dislike for the Germans was a bond, however, which united all and served to a certain extent in keeping the interallied antipathy from becoming too acute. This attitude was aptly put by a British soldier who, after a violent diatribe against the Russians in which he stated they were not civilized, in reply to my statement they were his allies, said, "They did not have to be civilized to be his allies." This indeed was a point of view of those who found it hard to live cheek by jowl.

The soldier may picture to himself the discomforts of trench life, the possibility of being wounded, of loss of limb or evesight; he may have discounted the possibility of death in battle; but, strangely enough, one rarely comes across in the prison camps a prisoner who had ever considered the possibility of being taken captive. One can readily picture the sense of discouragement and depression that overtakes these men when they find themselves isolated in the quarantine of a large prison camp. Without freedom of movement throughout the camp, forced to subsist on the camp ration foreign to their taste, and huddled together in barracks with other strange nationalities whose language they do not understand, the depression and resentment once thus begun rarely completely leaves the prisoner of war. I never expect to see more utter desolation and hopelessness pictured on human faces than that of some French prisoners recently taken at Verdun.

From the care-free life in the field, with all that fine feeling of enthusiasm which came with the successful defense of Verdun, from a proud member of a victorious army, here they were after an ill-advised counter attack suddenly transferred to sordid surroundings of a not too good prison camp. Here, confined to a very small area by the high barbed wire surrounding their quarantine barracks, they sat and brooded from day to day with hardly a change of position and without a motion unless ordered into their barracks by a pompous and blustering German noncommissioned officer and his guard. There they sat, woe personified, apparently looking through the barbed wire, but with that vacant look which could only mean a refusal to accept as real the things they saw and to look through and beyond it to what might have been.

The general atmosphere of the prison camp is one of depression, and when to this is added unjust treatment, a dangerous mental attitude is engendered which is dangerous both for the men and the camp. The little social traits and habits which different races find irritating, to say nothing of the larger and more serious differences which sometimes exist, as between the blacks and whites, produced a condition of hypersensitiveness and hyperirritability. This continued from day to day, from week to week, from month to month, and the uncertainity of its duration magnified it many times.

This order of mixing the races had only one advantage: it led to repeated inspection by the American and Spanish embassies. Had all the

British been confined in one camp or a series of camps, the problem of handling the men as well as the inspection would have been much simplified. As it was, the American Embassy in its inspection of the British prisoners insisted upon certain camp reforms which necessarily benefited the total number of prisoners. The Spanish Embassy inspecting the French had the similar effect for the good of the British. While the disadvantage of this regulation must have been obvious to the German authorities, the feeling against the British was so intense that segregation was not considered. The reason for their action becomes all the more obvious when it is recalled that the Irish prisoners were segregated in one of the best constructed camps of Germany, but not from humane but for political considerations. The discontent and friction in the camps, while a sufficiently bad effect, was as nothing compared to the eventual great evil of epidemic disease that resulted from this administrative error. The Russian soldier brought into these camps the germs of typhus, and in Russia typhus is epidemic and occurs in such a mild form as to be easily overlooked. The epidemic of typhus fever which broke out in the German camps and gave rise to such serious consequences could have been entirely avoided, as far as the French and British were concerned, had these nations been segregated in separate camps. Had this been done, the German Government, the German people, German

science would not have had to face for many generations the stigma of Wittenberg and the other plague camps.

Before taking up the consideration of the unfavorable type of camp, it would be well to consider the transport of prisoners to camps and the general organization of these camps. It is usual, after taking prisoners of war, to transport them immedately into the interior of Germany. When facilities exist. a detention in the military zone is sometimes practised for the purpose of sterilization, so to speak, in order to prevent the importation of disease. Dr. Ohnesorg, who inspected these hospitals back of the front, reports that at Montmedy five hundred French prisoners of war were quartered in an old fortress in the town. Here they were given a careful medical examination, with more particular reference to typhoid, typhus, smallpox and cholera. They were vaccinated against all these diseases. While this was being done their clothes were sterilized, and when this process was completed they were then transported to large prison camps. When large numbers of prisoners were taken, these methods were found to be impracticable, prisoners then being transported directly. In this event a certain portion of the camp to which they are sent is designated as quarantine. When it was found that Russian troops were suffering from typhus and an epidemic of the disease had broken out in the German camps, detention of Russian prison-



A picture that tells its own story



The guard with bayonet is always there



ers back of the line, where fumigation could be practiced, was made the rule. German soldiers were also submitted to this process before leave was granted to return to their homes.

Prisoners of war were transported in box cars, the floor of which was covered with straw; necessary stops were made from time to time for food, etc. Prisoners who were severely wounded or those who might need medical or surgical care were transported in ambulance trains. Those prisoners who were so severely wounded that immediate transportation was not warranted were treated in hospitals in the military zone. At times they were found in hospitals with the German wounded. Officer prisoners of war were as a rule given transportation in passenger coaches of third or even second class.

When a prisoner of war arrived at a camp, which had been selected by the military authorities, he was isolated for a period of three weeks in a separate company compound. Intercourse with the other prisoners was not permitted and only those German officers who were assigned to this special duty were permitted in this camp area. Even the members of the Embassy Staff who were assigned to the work of inspection were never permitted to inspect these quarantined prisoners. Inasmuch as these prisoners were recently taken, sufficient time had not elapsed for food packages to arrive from home and they were compelled to subsist on the German camp food which added to their other trials was a distinct hardship. The Irish prisoners at Limburg made official complaint that the camp authorities would not permit them to share their bread ration with these quarantined French prisoners.

While this quarantine is a necessary and wise precaution it appeared to be unnecessarily and harshly carried out. At a time when kindness would have meant much in alleviating the fear and depression of men recently taken prisoners, close confinement and harsh discipline was the rule. Like all people engaged in the present war they feared the worst and in this their anticipations were made real. They experienced the worst phase of prison camp life which without much trouble could have been entirely avoided. There was no particular reason why the physicians assigned to the work of inspection should not have inspected this portion of the camp. In some instances this principle of quarantine was abused in order to conceal prisoners whom the German Government did not evidently want interviewed by the American Embassy. This was true of groups taken either in naval engagements or after some of the sea raids.

During this period of detention a careful physical survey is made. Prisoners are vaccinated against typhoid, smallpox and cholera. He undergoes a personal disinfection. All his clothing and personal equipment are fumigated or sterilized. After the period of detention the prisoners are then distributed to the various companies in the camp.

There are one hundred and five of these parent camps for concentration of prisoners of war in Germany. While some of the larger camps are located in agricultural districts, the large majority have evidently been so placed as to furnish easy distribution of prisoners of war to the manufacturing industries of the country. Some of the older camps such as those at Parchim and Alten Grabow are very large. The camp at Parchim accommodates forty thousand men. Camps are usually built to hold from ten to twelve thousand prisoners. Such camps are usually located along the lines of railway communications. While they are sometimes situated within the confines of a town or city they are as a rule found in country districts. After some experience in the construction of the early camps they followed in a general way the same plan.

As one approached such a camp, long rows of rather low buildings built of wood, extending in the larger camps, for two or three miles, are seen. One or more watch towers, on the platforms of which heavy guns are mounted, rise above the general camp level. The camp is surrounded by two rows of barbed wire approximately twenty feet apart. In some camps this again is surrounded by a board fence twelve to fifteen feet high. At the entrance of the camp is situated the commandantur; in this building the officers of

the commandant and his staff are housed. The camp is divided into blocks and these again into smaller areas. A camp of ten thousand men for example will be divided up into five blocks separated from each other by barbed wire partitions. Each block is designed to accommodate a battalion of two thousand prisoners. This battalion is again divided into companies of two hundred. In each compound for such a battalion there will be ten barracks each holding two hundred men. Tn the more modern camps each barrack was designed for squads of a hundred men with twenty such barracks for each battalion division of the camp. The prisoners were not permitted as a rule to go from one battalion division to another. Each one of these divisions has its own latrines, wash house and kitchens. As one views such a camp there is nothing particularly picturesque about it. Even in well kept camps they appear sordid and unkempt. The prisoners as a rule stand around in listless groups. There is a general atmosphere of depression. As one enters the average prison barrack the unfavorable external appearance is somewhat intensified. Low long rows of double tier bunks take up the central floor space of the barrack. Long tables for serving food are placed next to the wall. Bags filled with straw, sea grass or paper serve as mattresses. Each prisoner is supplied with two blankets and these are thrown over the mattresses. Every available space is used for food packages and clothes. The place

has a dim, confused, unkempt appearance on account of the crowding of men, the arrangement of the bunks, food packages, clothes, etc. At one end of the barrack a small room is usually walled off for the noncommissioned officers. This is furnished with cots instead of the usual bunk arrangement. In prison camps where a single layer of bunks for bed arrangement is made, the barrack has a much brighter and more cheerful appearance. This unfavorable element in appearance of the camps therefore is more a matter of the number of the prisoners than any particular element or condition in itself. After all the cleanliness of the barrack is dependent on the men themselves and their noncommissioned officers. In the camp at Soltau for example where the construction and appearance of the camp was everything one could desire, the attention of the prisoner, noncommissioned officers, had to be called to the slovenly picture presented, due to their own negligence and lack of control of their men.

The barracks were as a rule heated by stoves and during the winter months in some of the camps the cooking of the food packages was here permitted. The barracks were usually lighted by electricity; four cubic feet of air content per man was demanded by the inspection. In each camp division easily accessible to the barracks a long concrete or wooden wash tub was erected for purposes of personal cleansing and washing clothes which the prisoner of war is expected to do himself. (In Gottingen this was done in the camp laundry.)

In addition to this a bathing and disinfecting establishment was located in a separate barrack building. This was divided into a disrobing room where a group of the prisoners take off their clothes which were then tagged and passed into a large, dry-heat sterilizer where a temperature of 110° was maintained for twenty minutes. While this process was in operation the men passed into a second long room, fitted with showerbaths with hot and cold water. After a thorough soaping and rinsing the men then passed to a third room on the other side of the sterilizer, where they received their sterilized clothes and emerged from the establishment thoroughly clean and free from vermin and other carriers of disease. Notwithstanding this, however, it was not easy for the prisoner of war to maintain a clean. soldierly appearance on account of the crowding of the barracks, lack of facilities for keeping the clothes, and in Northern Germany the dust and in wet weather the mud in the camps.

Kitchens were in a separate building, as a rule, and were equipped with a series of large kettles in which the food was prepared in the form of soup. One of the barracks was usually given over to a combination of religious services and for a theatre. In many camps, however, separate barracks were assigned for religious services and for entertainments. A part of the camp enclosure, varying in extent, was kept free for drills and athletic exercises. Here at stated periods of the day the men were permitted to play football or indulge in field sports. A small room in one of the barracks or in the administration building was assigned for use as a library. Books sent to the prisoners were here assembled, and one of the prisoners assigned to the duty of librarian.

In the motley array of French, Russian, British and Servian and Colonial troops found scattered through the camp, marking time, was found the ever-present German guard. The members of this guard were either members of the Landstrum (or older class of reserves) or younger men physically unfit for active field service. The number of the guard is usually one tenth of the number of the prisoners.

## GUARDING THE CAMPS

As one looks up from almost any portion of the prison camp one faces a tower on the elevated platform on which guns of medium caliber are so placed as to cover every part of the camp. Camp guards with fixed bayonets appear to be everywhere present. This omnipresent guard with his fixed bayonet is found with every group of prisoners, either inside of the camp or detached to do duty outside. Much depends upon the attitude of the camp officers whether the guard takes an insolent, insistent attitude or whether, on the other hand, he does his duty as a matter of form. During the night, when every prisoner is supposed to be in bed under guard, a night patrol, consisting of three or four of the guard under a noncommissioned officer. makes rounds within the camp. Military regulations forbid any intimacy between the guard and the prisoner of war and any communication between them, except to give military orders. The guarding of the prisoners of war, however, can be made exceedingly irritating and obnoxious or be sympathetic and humane within these regulations. Whether it is the one or the other depends entirely upon the attitude of the commissioned officer in charge. A nagging and abusive attitude by the guard sometimes associated with actual brutality was a frequent source of complaint. In such camps the matter of a formal protest was always made to the commandant and later through the Foreign Office to the Ministries of War. In some cases such guards were removed; more often, however, no action was taken, but the mere fact of a rigid inspection with a complete report usually led the camp authorities to the elimination of rough handling without, however, any mental change in the attitude towards the prisoner.

What is the daily life of the prisoner of war? The prisoner of war goes to bed at night with a feeling of depression and uncertain hopelessness, in a crowded barrack accentuated in a few camps by the presence of police dogs, rough commands and the use of bayonets and with insufficient ventilation, when he is housed with French and Russian prisoners; he awakens in the morning into the same depressed dirty atmosphere with the guard standing by with a fixed bayonet which again may be used to help the tardy ones into promptness. After sufficient time for washing he draws his allowance of prison bread and this with a cup of coffee substitute forms his breakfast. The barrack is then placed in order, blankets are folded and the barrack is aired. He then lounges listlessly around the camp until ten A. M. when the camp is counted. The prisoners are lined up in military formation and each answers to his prison number. The absence of a prisoner at roll call which usually indicates a successful escape from the camp means thunder, lightning, turmoil, irritation and resentment to every one by the military authorities from the commandant down to the lowest guard. The roll call usually is a simple matter, easily completed and soon over. While an escape is a "tragedy" to the officers of the camp it is the one gleam of hope to the other prisoners of war. The roll call is indefinitely prolonged until the exact escaped prisoner is located.

I have now a mental picture of several thousand men lined up on a hot summer day in company formation on a parade ground of the hot, dusty camp, bored and amused at the frantic efforts of the German officers, sweating and fuming and sputtering in their efforts to locate a poor lone prisoner who was missing. The reflection that this single escape makes on their efficiency makes that particular day miserable for every German soldier and more miserable than usual for every prisoner of war.

After roll call is completed most of the prisoners again mark time until the noonday meal. This is always in the form of soup and is brought to the barracks by a detail of prisoners in large cans. The British prisoner takes one look at it, sniffs, "Not fit for a dog to eat," he says, and turns to a can of beef or ham which has been sent to him, digs a chunk out of this with a spoon (knives are not permitted), tears it to pieces with his fingers and eats it with the bread and the jam from his package. After the midday meal he may be detailed to clean up camp or may spend his time in washing his clothes. In the afternoon he may play football or other simple field games or lounge listlessly with the French and Russian prisoners and speculate on the termination of the war or the varied fortunes of his own army. The cocksure attitude of his guard, the swagger of the commissioned officers, does not tend to lend any bright color to such speculations, and so until the evening meal. which again may be soup "not fit for a dog to eat," or may be, as it usually is, some pickled fish. "dead fish" (it needs no careful inspection to tell one this), with some bread and at times some potatoes. The prisoner looks, takes one glance at this "dead fish." but never disdains potatoes, and turns again to his can of meat and pot of marmalade and his

loaf of white bread which has been sent to him from Switzerland. A desultory game of cards after the evening meal and the tired, loathsome day has gone the way of so many, ever so many, tired, loathsome, never-ending days, to be followed by the beginning of another such day on the mor-The optimism of the French, the pessimism row. of the Russian, the devil-may-care attitude of the Irish, the fighting spirit of the British, makes little change in this blue atmosphere of never-ending. never-ending depression. It is not the depression of the jail, the criminal knowing and deserving his sentence; rather is it a modified woe of calamity fallen on men for doing what, to them, was right, what was even more than right, for their God and country. Utterly helpless, they live on from day to day, spurred on by the glittering bayonet and hurt in their manhood and souls by the insolent attitude, the superior culture of their prison keepers. "How long do you think the war will last?" I have heard this question asked in many places and under varying circumstances. in the clubs in America and England, in the cafés in Paris, on the streets of all cities, from women in villages in France near the battle line whose sons were in danger or had disappeared, from German officers and German princes (their questions always denoted the hour of victory), but until one has heard this question asked in prison camps by men who have almost given up the hope they have lived on from day to day, one will never realize the

full, pregnant, hidden meaning that can be crowded into these six words.

Some of the camps are much better than this picture would indicate and some of the camps are very much worse. From an offhand recollection, without referring to records, two camps stand out in my memory as examples, one of the best, the other of the worst, of these parent camps. The camps at Friedrichsfeld and at Minden.

## CHAPTER VI

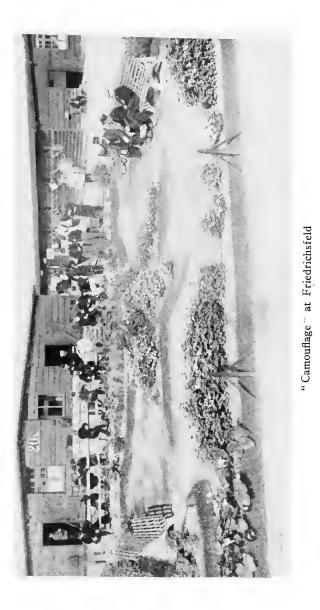
#### THE CAMP AT FRIEDRICHSFELD

I HAVE picked out the camp at - -----not because it was a camp of the best or most HAVE picked out the camp at Friedrichsfeld. modern construction, because it was not; I went to this camp not as a matter of routine inspection but because some complaints had been made about it by transferred or interned prison-I have selected it as one of the best camps in ers. Germany on account of the attitude of the commandant and by and through him of his staff, noncommissioned officers and guard. While the commandant insisted on the most rigid discipline throughout the camp, his intense interest in the welfare and everything that pertained to the prisoners was reflected by every one in the camp. The camp was organized with the prisoners own noncommissioned officers assigned to full duty and control of their own men. Only two British prisoners were found in the camp jail, and both of these men were sentenced to a period of two weeks at the request of their own senior noncommissioned officer. This trust and confidence placed in the prisoners' noncommissioned officers coupled with this strict military discipline, the practical kindly attitude of the commandant and his staff, make the atmosphere of this camp one of cooperation and, if not contentment, at least a minimum of discontent.

The camp was an old camp with antiquated barracks, low and forbidding looking, and with relatively little ventilation. Changes were, however, made in these barracks which made them comfortable and cheerful. The very long barracks were divided into two by partitions, reducing them to moderate size, a wall was run along one side of the barrack and partitions erected to give moderate-sized rooms. On these partitions lockers were built to hold the clothes and food packages. Instead of the usual bunk system, low cots made of wood, large enough to hold a small mattress and the two blankets, made a comfortable bed which could be easily taken out in the air for cleansing or piled up against the wall during the day to give a maximum amount of floor space.

The walls of these barracks were whitewashed, as were likewise the long corridors left at one side. In this corridor facilities for washing, basins, etc., were placed. The detailed description of this camp, with the conditions met with at the time, is as follows:

There are at the present time 7,500 prisoners of war in the camp, of which 395 are British. There are 37,000 prisoners of war attached to the camp; all, with the exception of 7,500, are in working camps. Nine hundred British are at the present time in working camps.



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This camp is located on sandy soil between the Lippe and the Rhein. The camp was one of the earliest camps constructed. It is divided into three separate camps, designated as Camps No. 1, 2, and 3, within the same enclosure. These camps are arranged as battalions in the general form of an irregular triangle. Each camp has ten large double barracks; at either end of which is a water pump, with a large permanent laundry trough, used for hand laundry and washing purposes.

The water supply is drawn from isolated, protected wells sunk at either end of each barrack.

The hospital is situated in a separate compound about one-half kilometer from the camp. The general administration, the store houses, the post office, and the guard are all housed in a separate compound at the entrance to the camp. The quadrangle has an unusually large amount of space, some of which is devoted to exercise, etc. The camp is tastefully decorated with flower beds in front of each barrack. An open air concert hall has just been completed for band concerts. In addition to this, there is a theatre, a cinematograph barrack, a church barrack, a photographic studio, a printing office, an art room, a physical-culture room, a school for language study, a science room and a large barrack devoted to the re-education of injured prisoners, which will be described in detail later.

The kitchens are placed at one end of the long

barracks and the latrines at the opposite end of the camp.

The barracks are approximately 300 x 600 feet and 14 feet high. Each barrack has 14 large windows and 16 ventilating flues in the roof. The barracks are divided by a closed partition into two large barracks rooms. Each of these large rooms is subdivided into eight smaller rooms by partitions about nine feet high. A hallway is left at one side extending the length of the barrack. Each of these smaller rooms is 50 x 36 feet, having two windows on either side and two ventilating flues. On the average, 40 men are housed in each of these rooms. The capacity when filled is 55. At the end of each barrack two smaller rooms are given over to the noncommissioned officers. Tn one of the rooms eight Sergeants are housed, and in the other room two sergeant-majors. Closets are "built in" on the partitions around the barracks to house toilet articles, etc.; clothes-racks are placed in the long hall for wearing apparel. Separate wash basins for the men, with water pitchers, are placed in the hall for each room. At the entrance of each barrack a barber shop with a prisoner of war barber is installed.

The interior of the barracks were all whitewashed and presented a clean and orderly appearance. The beds are made up in cradles made of wood, in which a straw mattress is placed, these are placed on each other against the wall, giving a large area of free space for tables, benches, etc. These bed sacks are carried out into the sun and thoroughly aired each week.

The latrines are placed at the far end of the compound. There are thirty six latrines in the camp. These are of two kinds: thirty of them are of the concrete-cistern type, with uncovered and covered seats; a urinal is at one end. These are emptied daily, are free from odor and exceptionally clean. The other type is a concrete-cistern type with a water flushing system with five covered seats and a separate urinal. These were also clean and in good condition.

There is a combined bath and disinfection plant. This is located in a large frame building with a disrobing room equipped with steam ovens for the disinfection of clothes; a large bathroom furnished with 96 showers with hot and cold water; and a dressing room on the other side of the disinfection room. Baths are insisted upon once per week and may be taken oftener.

There are twenty kitchens distributed throughout the camp. Only four are now in operation. Each contains four kettles and a range. The kitchen for the British was carefully inspected. It was found to be in a clean and orderly condition. Two British were found in this kitchen who had charge of the preparation of the food, which is prepared differently for the French and English according to their tastes.

Sergeant W. J. P., Irish Rifles, is in charge of the kitchen. The food for the noon-day meal was ready for distribution. It consisted of a soup made of white beans, potatoes, cabbage, maize grease and margarine. We tested it and found it to be of good flavor and palatable. The British cook stated that all food stuffs used in the kitchen were of good quality and that practically all of the British partook of the noon-day meal.

The store houses were inspected. There were three separate houses for storing of food supplies. There were large stores of new potatoes, head lettuce and Kohlrabi. We inspected and tasted the marmalade, soja-meal, dried con-fish, condensed milk, and bread, all of which were found to be of good quality. The bread is now made without the addition of potatoes.

There are two rooms, in one of which clothing of all kinds, shoes, including tennis shoes, tennis racquets, toilet articles, watches, wood carving, and art utensils were sold; in the other room sardines, several varieties of canned vegetables and canned fruits, herring, marmalade, meat extracts, soft drinks and wine could be obtained at current prices. In a separate building a fair grade of tea and coffee can be bought for five pfennigs per pot (two cents). The coffee is roasted and prepared in the camp.

The mail arrives regularly, from three to four weeks. Parcels also arrive regularly, and are expeditiously handled. Parcels are distributed to the barracks on the day of arrival, and are dispatched to working camps within twenty four hours. There were four British working in this department.

All the British had sufficiently good clothes and shoes. The care and distribution of clothes to the men in the camp and in working camps was in charge of one of the British sergeant majors.

Foot ball, tennis, and field sports are all freely permitted in the camp. Theatrical performances, in which the British take an active part, are frequently given in a well-equipped theatre barrack. Cinematograph exhibitions are also frequently given.

There are two infirmaries in the main camp. There were no British in either at the time of the inspection. The main hospital is housed in a large brick building and ten barrack buildings. A wellequipped operating room with dispensary room, etc., is provided. All the hospital buildings were found to be clean, well ventilated, and the patients were satisfied with the food and medical attention. German army surgeons take care of the men.

A physical culture room is fitted up with special apparatus for the correction of deformities. It is not connected with the hospital system and is in charge of a French prisoner of war.

A large barrack with six rooms is devoted to the re-education of wounded soldiers. At the time of our inspection one hundred and fifty or more prisoners of war were occupied in classes in bookbinding, basket-weaving, watchmaking, wood carving, lithographic printing, typewriting, shoe-making, tailoring, painting, photography, and in the usual scholastic exercises. In a separate building carpentering and black-smithing were also taught. This department of the camp, and the spirit that prompted it, deserves special praise and commendation.

The men are requested to do the camp work. The noncommissioned officers in the camp are not required to work, but many have volunteered for work in the post office, kitchen, etc.

Rev. Mr. W—— occasionally visits the camp. At other times one of the noncommissioned officers reads the services. A French priest who speaks excellent English, holds the services for the French and English Roman Catholics. A tastefully decorated barrack is set aside for church purposes.

A well equipped library exists in this camp. In addition to this, in each of the British barracks two book shelves piled with English books, are placed in the hallways.

The British requested that a place be set aside for cooking the food received in the parcels sent from home. During the winter this was done in the barracks. The commandant promised that a place should be provided.

Some of the men who had been in some of the working camps complained that their clothes had not been returned to the parent camp, when they left the working camps. There was some question here also for charge for alteration of clothes sent from home and repairing these. The commandant promised to make an immediate investigation of this and to correct it.

While the camp was found exceptionally clean and free from vermin, it was found difficult, on account of the nature of the soil, to keep the camp entirely free from fleas. Every effort is being made to control this matter and a new method is, now being tried with this end in view.

This camp in spite of its being of the older type of construction, has been so remodelled as to make it very comfortable. There is a splendid organization of the camp, and every effort is being made to make the men comfortable, guard their health, give them mental and physical relaxation, and to refit them for more useful work in the future. The health of the men is good, and the spirit of the men towards their own officers and the camp authorities is exceptionally good. The ranking noncommissioned officer, Sergeant Major P. C—, has the confidence of the camp authorities and his men, and deserves mention for his care and control of the men in his camp.

A simple perusal of these notes made in the ordinary routine of inspection survey gives a very good idea of the impression this camp made upon one accustomed to view camps from a purely scientific standpoint. Too much cannot be said in praise of the commandant, who was interested not only in the present welfare of his prisoners, but was also concerned with their future field of use-

fulness after the termination of the war. One could forgive short comings in other directions but none appeared to exist. The atmosphere of the camp hospital situated at some distance from the camp was kindly and sympathetic. It will also be noted the many opportunities for physical and mental relaxation. The attitude towards the taste of the prisoner in the question of diet was consid-This was one of the few camps in Germany ered. where the prison food was taken by practically all the British prisoners. There was the usual absence of complaints about the food, confirming the statement of the British cook in the kitchen in reference to the same matter. The school for the reeducation of wounded prisoners compares favorably if it does not surpass similar institutions for the re-education of wounded soldiers (not prisoners) in France, England and also in Germany. Each department was in charge of a prisoner of war, who acted as a teacher and disciplinarian. In other camps in Germany I have met men who requested to be sent back to this camp in order to continue their education in one of these departments. Yet, notwithstanding this, this camp was reported as unsatisfactory and was placed on the records of the Red Cross Headquarters in London as a bad camp.

In the camp at Soltau a careful inspection with the privilege of complaint extended to every man in the camp, not a single complaint was registered, except in reference to the food and as to the rate



Censoring the mail at Friedrichsfeld

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of exchange. And yet there was no comparison between the two camps. While the camp at Soltau was a newly constructed camp with a much more modern type of barrack, etc., and while the men were well housed and well cared for, there was not that kindly, humane sympathy that took cognizance not only of the present needs, but considered the future and led to a definite effort to relieve the mental stress of confinement and to eliminate the worry as to the future. The same can be said in a general way of the camp at Parchim. Here were found three brothers, civilians interned, who were given the privilege of being transferred from this prison camp to the Ruhleben, but who preferred to remain on account of the attitude of kindly welfare of the commandant and his staff towards them and the other prisoners.

What the commandant at the camp at Friedrichsfeld was doing for the prisoners of war was well known in the other army corps. It was an example which could have been followed in every prison camp in Germany. Notwithstanding the food blockade, it was here proven possible for Germany to have set an example for the rest of the world in a constructive as it has in a destructive military problem.

It would, indeed, for one trained as a student in German universities, be a pleasant duty to be able to report that all the German prison camps had the atmosphere of Friedrichsfeld or even without the spirit of this camp, that they approached the stand-

ard set at Parchim, Soltau, Dulmen, Wahn, Wunsdorf, and many other German parent camps, or that the problem of the enlisted men should have been approached in the same spirit as that of the officers, prisoners of war, concerning whom certainly after the first year of the war there could be no valid complaint. The contrast between the above named camps and those at Minden, Limburg, Wittenberg, Schneidemuhl, Langensalzen, etc., was the difference between day and night, between heaven, relatively, and hell, absolutely. Between these two extremes existed a series of camps such as those at Muchendorf, Alten-Grabow, Giessen, Dyrotz, etc., where conditions were neither good nor very bad, yet presented certain elements which gave more than reasonable ground for complaint. both on the part of the prisoners and the Embassy. It is difficult to estimate the exact proportions of good and bad camps. One might say in a general way that the average was relatively good considering the difficulties of the situation and the size of the problem to be faced; and were it not for the problem of the working camp to be discussed later. and were we to consider only the parent camps and the officer camps, the verdict would be in a general way "not guilty" to the charge of inefficiency. deliberate or intentional cruelty in the handling of this problem. One might go even further and say that taking the problem as a whole and for the majority of the camps, it was fairly well administered, and in some of the camps exceptionally well done.

The attitude, however, towards the prisoner when the working camp problem was interjected, throws much light on many problems and explains the underlying factors of many of the faults which might otherwise in a charitable way be explained as negligence, so to speak, due to inefficiency. I know that my own point of view, my attitude at the present time, after deliberate consideration, free from a hostile atmosphere, has largely been determined by these ulterior considerations. My considerations, therefore, of the problem of some of the worst types of camp must be taken into consideration and be explained by the material in the chapter on working camps.

# CHAPTER VII

### THE CAMP AT MINDEN

WHILE much publicity has been given to the camp at Wittenberg, I will consider first of all the problem of the camp at Minden, for the simple reason that while there might be some excuse to offer for Wittenberg, no excuse was offered or presented for the conditions found at Minden. Following the course of the preceding chapter, I will present my notes made at the time of the inspection of this camp and discuss it later.

There are in the camp 8,682 prisoners of war, of whom 615 are British, and of the British, 357 are noncommissioned officers.

This camp has been described in previous reports. The camp is arranged in a block system, with the barracks of each block arranged in such a way as to form a square with an open area in the court of about one hundred metres square. There are five blocks. As arranged at the present time each block is completely separated from the other blocks. The prisoners of war in each block are absolutely limited to this block area, are not permitted outside of it, and as the barracks, except for the small gateway, completely enclose this area, there is no opportunity to see anything other than the four barrack brick walls and the open sky above. There are no trees or shade in this area, and the outlook, or rather inlook, is dismal. In Block I, where the enlisted men are confined, a few flowers are grown in the window tops of the barracks, but in Block V, where the noncommissioned officers are confined, there is not even evidence of this. The surface area is of hard yellow clay without any grass or other evidence of vegetation. In the space in this court, which is not taken up with the kitchen, latrines, etc., the men play football.

The British are housed in the long barracks forming the walls of the square. These barracks are old and dingy, are of the hut type with slightly inclined roof, from front to rear, and are approximately 100 feet x 50; with an average ceiling height of approximately 16 feet. There are twenty four windows in the front of the barrack. with four small openings one by two feet at the rear of the barrack, with two stove pipe openings in the roof. The British complained that the roof leaked during the month that they had been interned there. An inspection of the roof showed places where the men had packed boxes against the roof over their beds to keep out the leaking water. The attention of the commandant and the inspection officer from the Inspection for Prisoners of War, 7th Army Corps at Munster, was called to this, and the commandant stated that the roofs required constant attention and the application of tar to keep them water-tight. This was being done at the time of our inspection. The beds are of the double tier, built-in, bunk type, supplied with straw or excelsior mattresses, and two blankets to each. Much of the material of the mattresses was badly worn and pulverized, and some of the bedding was very dirty. In Block I, Barrack No. 35, 180 were housed, of whom 33 were British enlisted men. The numbers of men per barrack in Block V appeared to be greater than this, but the exact number could not be obtained.

There are two long latrines in each block. They are of the trench type, lined with wood, open bar system, uncovered, no seats, emptied each day (according to the camp authorities). At the time of the inspection they were partially filled and did not present an unusually objectionable odor. The men complained that the trenches were not emptied oftener than once a week, and that the odor from them was objectionable.

A long urinal, approximately 100 feet in length, of the open trough type of wood, was attached to the wall in the open, without housing, was heavily incrusted with deposit and presented a strong odor and filthy appearance.

In a barrack building in the middle of the block is a bath, equipped with 14 showers (hot and cold water); a dressing room adjoins the bath room. This building was found to be in a clean and orderly condition.

In another building in the centre of the square

sufficient facilities for washing and hand laundry are supplied by three long oblong tubs, each furnished with twenty seven spigots. This room was kept clean and orderly.

The kitchen is housed in a large barrack building in the outside group of each block. It is clean, orderly and in good condition. Each kitchen is equipped with seventeen kettles and two ranges. Two British prisoners of war are employed in each kitchen. These men stated that the raw food stuffs supplied to the kitchen were of good quality. The midday meal on the day of inspection was tasted by one of us (Taylor). It consisted of meat, sauerkraut and potatoes. It was very thin in potatoes and meat. The sauerkraut was of fair quality and of normal taste.

The bread is the regular Kriegs-Brot of normal quality; the ration being three hundred grammes per day, per man. The British employed in the kitchen stated that approximately one fourth of the British prisoners of war took the midday meal and from a quarter to a third drew the bread ration. The men were permitted to cook the food in the packages received from home, in one of two long open air ranges in the middle of the block. One kettle in the kitchen is reserved for warming up tin foods.

The canteen is housed in the kitchen building. Wine, alcohol-free beer, soft drinks, various and sundry toilet articles and tobacco are on sale.

The infirmary, fifty by thirty five feet, with eight

windows, in which fifteen cot beds were placed, was inspected in Block V. A British prisoner of war, Private —, had been confined to this barrack for six weeks, suffering from convulsive seizures following an old injury of the head. This man had been investigated by the X-Ray and nothing abnormal found. At our request, this man is to be removed to a hospital where his case can be more carefully studied and proper treatment instituted. Complaints were registered in both Blocks I and V, that men were punished by confinement in Straf-Barracken, or punishment barracks, for reporting ill to sick call. These men were confined in the Straf-Barracken at the time of our visit who, as far as they knew, were there for this reason.

In Block I, Private H. T—— complained that he was ordered to rest up by the doctor for some heart trouble. He stated that he remained in the barracks under the doctor's orders and for this he was sent to the arrest barracks for ten days.

Private B—— stated that he was working in a camp at Bockhurst, that he was ill with rheumatism, but the guard would not permit him to see a doctor. He was returned to this camp (Minden) and placed in the jail barrack for fourteen days. At the end of two days of this sentence he was so ill that he had to be taken out of the prison darkcell by order of the camp doctor and sent to the hospital.

In Block V, Sergeant C---- complained that he

could not get proper medical attention or cotton to care for running ears.

Sergeant W. E—— complained that he did not procure proper medical attention for pains in the head and treatment or the necessary methods of cleansing the socket from which the right eye had been removed, and that he feared loss of sight in the remaining eye, which was giving him trouble. At the time of inspection there was an accumulation of purulent matter in and about the eye socket, and it was evidently in need of attention with some cleansing solution. It was evident that the eye had been neglected, as any one could see on inspection that it needed treatment.

Sergeant W. M---- claimed that an operation for hemorrhoids was refused if he would not agree to volunteer for work; that he finally consented and an operation was performed, and his name was placed on the working list. He asked to have his name removed as he might be compelled to go to a working camp at any time. When this case was investigated it was found that there was evidently a misunderstanding on account of poor interpreting. The doctor stated to him that an operation was not necessary unless he were going to do hard work. But he, misunderstanding this, and wishing relief, agreed to work and his name was placed on the list. Accepting the statements of both sides, it is only fair to have this name removed.

In each barrack the men complained in a general

way that if they reported ill they were likely to be punished.

The camp lazarett was visited and only a few men of the 198 British there were from this camp.

The others were brought there from the front.

This will be considered later in this report.

Packages and letters come irregularly. Two British were employed in the post office and two in the parcel post.

The men were compelled to do the necessary camp work.

All the British had sufficient good clothes and shoes.

There is no library in this camp.

The punishment barrack was visited. It is an empty barrack room in Block 3, which contains no other prisoners at the present time. Five British were confined here. Two of these were confined for refusing to work. The other three men, Privates W—, Q—, and J—, stated that they did not know why they were being punished, and had done nothing to warrant their confinement except to report sick. One of these claimed that his case had been diagnosed in the hospital as chronic tuberculosis of the lungs, and that he now has the symptoms of that disease.

This barrack has a barbed wire barrier in front of the door. A sentry is stationed in the barrack, and the men are not supplied with blankets or mattresses, but must sleep on the bare floor in their clothes. They are not permitted to have their packages, and must subsist on the camp food. They are not permitted a change of clothes. Notwithstanding the above, the commandant stated that these men were not under arrest and when a statement was requested as to why the above three men did not know why they were confined there, no one seemed able to explain the matter or to give us any information concerning it.

Complaints were made in both Blocks I and V, that police dogs were brought into the barrack rooms at night and cleared the barracks so that men had to be in bed before the dogs were brought in. The dogs were kept in the square at night. The men stated that the dogs were set loose in the barrack rooms.

Sergeant W. H---- was attacked by one of these dogs in the night of July 2nd, as he crossed this square returning to his barrack from the latrine. He exhibited his leg, which bore the recent scars where he had been bitten. The commandant made the statement that this case had been reported to him by the guard, who reported that the dog had broken the leash and had attacked the prisoner of war. H—— stated in contradiction to this that he did not hear any one until he was attacked but that shortly after the guard appeared and called the dog off. The dog, from H----'s statement, was loose in the compound. He was taken to the infirmary and the wounds given treatment immediately.

In explanation of the necessity for the presence

and use of the dogs in the camp, the commandant stated that attempts at escape by tunneling were so frequent that the dogs were trained to detect men in this act. He stated that at night they were taken into the barrack rooms and sent under all the bunks, and they were then taken out and sent through openings under the barracks to detect any such attempts. He stated, in contradiction to the men, that the dogs were always held in leash, and not permitted to run free. A strong protest was made by us to the use of the animals inside the camp both to the commandant and the inspection officer from the Inspection for Prisoners of War of the 7th Army Corps.

Complaint was made by the three Sergeants Majors (British) that all the British noncommissioned officers in Block V were compelled to drill twice a week for one hour, and then to march for an hour, taking commands from a German private in German, which they were compelled to learn and obey. They stated that they would not have so much objection to carrying out the drill if the commands were given by a German noncommissioned officer, or if they (the sergeant majors) were given the word of command and transmitted it to the men. The influence of the Sergeant Majors over their men was undermined in this way and considerable friction had developed because the sergeants and corporals had difficulty in understanding the German commands even when an interpreter was present to translate them. When this matter was taken up, it was stated that a German common soldier outranks any officer prisoner of war in the camp when carrying out orders, and that no indignity was intended; that the drilling was necessary in order to teach the noncommissioned officers military attitude, carriage, and respect to higher rank. The noncommissioned officers stated that they considered this drill as a punishment for their refusal to volunteer for work.

Complaint was made by a number of men that the rate of exchange for money was lower than the market rate. Sergeant G. R—— made a special complaint that he was offered M. 20.33 in exchange for a money order for £1. He declined to take this and requested that the money order be returned to the sender in Great Britain. The camp authorities declined to do this and, on his refusal to sign a receipt, deposited the 20.33 Marks to his credit. We were told that this was a matter of military regulation and that nothing could be done.

Complaint was made that many of the noncommissioned officers were suffering from the result of old wounds and were not in condition for work, and for that reason should not be confined to this camp. The commandant stated that the chief medical officer of the camp had examined all these men and had reported them fit for work.

Some ten noncommissioned officers had been removed to this camp from places where they were already at work, more particularly those from the officers camp at Gutersloh, and regented the transfer, but were not willing to again volunteer for work, when the offer was made in our presence.

Special Report on the Lazarette. (Hospital.)

The lazarette of this camp is situated outside of the camp in a separate compound. It is composed of six wooden camp barracks, simple gable type, each approximately 180 by 40 feet, 12 feet high with 20 windows on each side and 12 ventilators. Each barrack is divided into two rooms by a partition at the end of each barrack. When this hospital was inspected, it was found that the hospital barracks were overcrowded. The beds were arranged in most of the barracks in double rows, i.e., four rows of beds in each, filled for the most part with badly wounded men, transported almost directly from the battle line to this hospital. These wounded men were held at a field hospital for a period of time, varying from a few days to a week. and then transported directly here by ambulance railway train. In other words this temporary. crudely constructed camp lazarette intended for the incidental case of illness of prisoners of war. and without the equipment in the nature of operating rooms, dressing rooms, special apparatus. nursing staff, etc., was, practically without any preliminary notice, transformed into a first base hospital. A large number of the men are severely wounded, several of them at the time of inspection critically ill, two practically in a dying condition, and all of them, in our opinion, with insufficient nursing attention. It was stated by one of

the orderlies that some of these patients had developed bedsores. Inasmuch as we are not allowed to examine patients or to interrogate them as to these matters, this statement must be taken reservedly. The nursing is done by hospital orderlies. There are no women trained nurses in the place. Many of the patients had fever, some of them having temperatures as high as  $103^{\circ}F-104^{\circ}F$ . The diet was complained of by these very sick patients. They stated they could not take it. The convalescent patients, on the other hand, complained that they did not have sufficient food.

There are a relatively large number of eye cases, five or six, who ought to have the services of a trained eye specialist.

Five deaths have occurred in this group of wounded. Four of these have been from tetanus and a fifth severe case of tetanus is now under treatment.

The only explanation of the crowding of the wards, with some empty half-barracks without beds is evidently a question of nursing and care with the present staff.

An English noncommissioned officer is present in the hospital as interpreter. The senior noncommissioned officers at the camp requested permission to be assigned to the camp to help. This was refused. The noncommissioned officer interpreter at the camp requested permission to get in touch with the men in Blocks I and V in order to secure food from packages. This had been denied but would be granted, dependent on the permission of the chief medical officer in each case.

Sergeant M—, a lay reader of the Church of England, interned in Block V, had requested permission to visit the sick and dying prisoners in order to give them religious consolation, or to help in the hospital. This was refused. On taking this up with the commandant the latter eventually consented to permit Sergeant M----- to visit the hospital to attend those seriously ill, but stated that full consent to visit the men in the hospital would not be granted until his ecclesiastical credentials had been submitted and approved. Sergeant M—— stated that a certificate as a lay reader had been issued to him by the Bishop of London but that he did not have it with him. This matter, we have been informed by the inspector at Munster, was under investigation at the time of our visit.

Throughout the inspection of the above camp we were accompanied by the commandant and his staff, and by a staff officer from the Inspection of Prisoners of War at the 7th Army Corps at Munster. All of the above matters complained of were taken up and investigated at the time by the above officers, and the undersigned and the notice here reported taken from this joint investigation.

In a letter accompanying this report it is stated in contrasting this camp with the one at Dulmen and Friedrichsfeld that:

"The camp at Minden could, on the other hand, be used as a model of what a camp for prisoners of



An interesting pair of Serbian prisoners

war ought not to be. It is built in a relatively unhealthy location, of poor general plan, and as administered, is more of an actual prison for the men, more particularly the non-commissioned officers, than the jail at Cologne, without any of the redeeming features of the latter. The attitude towards the prisoners of war it not only not sympathetic, but, on the contrary, a hard attitude of suspicion and repression that appears to us to verge on real intentional cruelty. The locking up of these men in blocks without opportunity for mental relaxation, etc., is likely, if persisted in, to have serious results in the mental tone and attitude of these prisoners, and may eventually lead to a mutinous attitude on the part of the men, for which if it should occur, the authorities would have only themselves to thank.

"It appears to us that notwithstanding the reasons given in the report on Minden for certain regulations such as the drill of the noncommissioned officers, the revision of barracks, the refusal to let the men have matches, soap, etc., the real spirit of such regulations is to force the noncommissioned officers to volunteer for work and to punish them if they do not.

"We can see no reason why the noncommissioned officers should not be placed in a camp by themselves if they refuse or if they encourage others by their example, but we cannot see any reason why they should not be treated in such camps as noncommissioned officer prisoners of war instead of as criminals. In other words, they ought to have that amount of liberty, mental and physical relaxation and occupation necessary for good mental and physical health. And all this notwithstanding an effort to keep these reports so well within the truth as to be more than fair and notwithstanding the fact that a copy of such a report was automatically sent to the German Ministry of War, and by them through the army corp commander to the commandant of the camp. According to the Hague Convention, officers are not compelled to work. There was a tacit agreement that noncommissioned officers would be included in this arrangement in order to protect their own noncommissioned officers in France and Russia, Italy and England, they would not compel or order noncommissioned officers of the grade of sergeant major, sergeant or corporal to work. They were asked to volunteer for work and if they refused to do so, they were confined in camps such as that at The camp at Minden was deliberately Minden. selected on account of the block system and for the opportunities there presented for making the lives of the men so miserable that they would prefer anything to this. They did not calculate, however, on the fighting spirit of the British and the French noncommissioned officer. This camp is in contravention to the Hague Convention that "the prisoner of war can only be confined as an indispensable minimum of safety."

It was used as a prison in which was added bru-

tal treatment by the guards and an attitude towards the sick prisoner in the camp which is indefensible even from a prison standpoint. It may be stated also that this attitude was not only extended to the prisoners, but in a way included the Inspection Service of the American Embassy. Every attempt to communicate with the prisoner alone was met by an attempt on the part of some German interpreter to sneak sufficiently close to overhear conversation. This even went so far that an attitude of contempt and sneering suspicion on the part of one of the commanding officers of the commandant's staff persisted in through the consideration of the many complaints filed by the prisoner, that I was eventually compelled to protest in justice to myself and the prisoners that unless the offending officer withdrew that I would refuse to continue the inspection. The commandant then relieved this officer from duty with the inspection party. This was only a part and parcel of an atmosphere of insincerity and concealment that permeated the entire inspection and the camp. The statement made in the letter to the ambassador that the treatment of these men would have such a result upon the mental tone as to lead to a mutinons attitude had more ground than appeared in the report. During this inspection the Russian prisoners of war to the number of a hundred or more, surrounded the inspection party and demanded in such a violent way that they be relieved from such unbearable conditions that it looked for a moment as if actual violence would be done on the German officers. While the appeal was made to me, representing the American Embassy, I explained that this matter was entirely outside my providence. The staff officer from the Army Corps Headquarters tried to quiet the men by stating to them that they should write to Russia demanding that their interests should be placed in the hands of some neutral country. It was perfectly evident from the mental attitude and rebellious conduct of these men that they were not of sound mind and with little further provocation or if even they then had available weapons that violence could have been To be able to correct some of the condiexpected. tions in this camp, to be of even small assistance to such suffering human beings was at least some compensation for the trials and tribulations of this Reforms insisted upon and effected for the work. British and Servian prisoners here confined, were naturally extended to all the prisoners irrespective of nationality. While the barbarous spirit at the bottom of the atmosphere of this camp could not be entirely eliminated, the more serious evils were corrected, as was shown by a follow up inspection. This was an example of a repression type of camp. several of which existed in Germany (Langensalza. etc.).

To add to all of this the pitiable spectacle of the hospital attached to this camp was almost too much for a human being to stand, either with equanimity or without emotional disturbance. To have placed such a large number of such seriously wounded men jammed together in such crude barracks with insufficient medical attention, no nursing worthy of the name, and with such food as normal men could not eat, was a blunder, and a blot on German science, worse even than what occurred at Wittenberg. What possible excuse to send men to such barracks and to such a camp, could be offered, I cannot well imagine. I had already inspected hospitals nearer the front, well equipped for such work and not overcrowded. Even had these men been sent to the camp attached at Friedrichsfeld there would at least have been a sympathetic attitude and a serious effort made to overcome what shortcomings might have there existed. When to the sight of men sick and suffering and dying in the throes of lockjaw, with a dirty towel between the teeth, men dying prisoners in a foreign land without a gentle voice or sympathetic hand to ease their suffering, there was added the brutal, blind obedience to regulation, that would withhold religious consolation when it was at hand and anxious to help, this indeed surpasses all human understanding.

If one stops to analyze the relationship of the atmosphere in the hospital to that of the camp, it must become evident that to the military authorities in charge of the camp, and who were evidently selected for this particular duty, were incompetent to face the situation thrust upon them in connection with the wounded prisoners of war. Certainly it was the duty of a commandant with the rank of general to protest to the proper authorities against this condition of affairs. Inasmuch as this was not done the same heartless attitude permitted and even stimulated in the main camp, could be expected still to be manifest in the hospital for wounded men. In this particular instance these officers, even if they had so desired, could not carry out a brutal system in one portion of the camp and change it to a sympathetic, humane attitude across a barb-wire barrier in the same camp. I do not see how any man with human instincts could permit a single day to pass with such conditions existing and for which he was responsible, without attempting to remedy them.

The Repression camp or that portion of it for correction of prisoners of war at Langensalza, represents the same general atmosphere except to a less marked degree than that exhibited at Minden.

An entirely different manifestation of this same spirit is shown in the attitude of the commandant at Schmiedmuhl. In this same camp were twenty nine thousand prisoners, one hundred and sixty men were confined under arrest; of the hundred and sixty under arrest nine were British. The consideration of these will give some idea of the German idea of justice as applied to the prisoner of war in this camp.

PRISON BARBACK: The prison barrack was inspected and found to be approximately fifty by fifty by nine feet (walled) with twelve windows. One hundred and sixty men were confined here under arrest. Upon our representation to the commandant that the barrack was overcrowded he stated that he recognized this, but that, pending the construction of another barrack, no other provisions could be made. There were no cots or bunks; the blankets of the men were rolled up on the floor. The men were not permitted to smoke, play cards or have tea. They were confined to the barrack throughout the entire twenty four hours, except for one hour each day, when they were taken out for exercise.

Of the hundred and sixty men under arrest, nine are British. Of these one is a colonel sergeant major, one a lance corporal and seven privates. The cases of S—— and S—— were individual cases of arrest. The seven privates were grouped as one process involving the same offence.

All of these men complained of the handling of their cases and their punishment and requested that the matter be reported to the Embassy.

after having been attacked several times, he caught his hand to protect himself. The guard was called and he, S—, stated to the guard that he refused to work longer in the shop on account of the antagonistic attitude of the civilian workmen and the occurrence stated above. He was thereupon taken to the place where he was lodged. Some two or three hours later, the guard appeared, ordered him to go to work again in the shop. He refused again on the grounds above stated, whereupon the guard struck him several times with the butt-end of his rifle and otherwise abused him. He was then placed under arrest and has since been tried.

This matter was later taken up at the commandant's office with the commandant and a Rechtsanwalt (lawyer) attached to his staff. We asked the nature of the charge and the proceedings under which the man was punished. The commandant, after having looked up the record, stated that following his return to the guard house, S—— was formally told that he would have to return to the place to work and that he replied in absolute refusal.

The Rechtsanwalt then stated that such a heavy penalty of imprisonment had been imposed upon him (S---) at the court martial in view of the contemptuous and insolent manner in which he had made this refusal.

The commandant in reference to S——'s complaint of rough handling, stated that the guard had the right to strike a prisoner with his rifle in order to enforce obedience to a command, but that he paid particular attention that in the enforcement of authority the guards did not thereby injure the prisoners; that with reference to this particular instance, it was much better to force the prisoner to obey by striking him than that he should have to suffer imprisonment for refusal. The Rechtsanwalt then read to us the paragraph in the regulations under which the guard is empowered to use force in the handling of a prisoner.

CASE OF SERGEANT S-----. Company Sergeant Major R. S—— stated that at the time of his arrest he was the noncommissioned officer in charge of the English barrack in one of the camps. That on March 4th, by request he had sent in a list of the fatigue men from whom selections for work were to be made. This list was prepared by him from his knowledge of the physical condition of the men, their ability to work etc.; that previously this arrangement had worked out all right. On this particular occasion, the German noncommissioned officer came to him and told him to order out certain men for work. Inasmuch as these men did not conform to the order of this list, a misunderstanding developed. He was arrested for refusing to order the men to work and tried by court martial. At the time of the trial he understood that at first he had been sentenced to three weeks in prison and was taken out of the

court room. He was asked if he wanted to appeal and upon an affirmative reply, after about ten or fifteen minutes was taken back into the courtroom again and sentenced to three months. He then filed an appeal and on this trial was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. He complained that he did not understand the proceedings, that he did not understand why, the first verdict of three weeks had been changed suddenly to three months; that he was not represented by any one in his defense at either trial; that he had had charge of the men for some time previous to the particular occurrence for which he was tried. had had no trouble or difficulty and attributed his present trouble to ill feeling towards him on the part of the German noncommissioned officer.

The matter was then taken up with the commandant and his legal adviser. We were told that the three weeks' penalty was provisional; that the penalty of three months was fixed at the first trial. When the prisoner appealed from this sentence, the commandant regarding the sentence as too light also appealed and a verdict of an increase from three or twelve months was handed down. The Rechtsanwalt stated that the regulations provided for counsel for a prisoner only in unusual or grave cases. The prisoner is still under arrest pending an appeal of his case.

CASE OF W. B., PRIVATES W----, L----, B----, G----, H----, G----- stated that he had been under imprisonment since last fall and had

first been tried October 4th, 1915. He said that he and the six other men had been working in a field. There had developed a misunderstanding as a result of their lack of ability to understand exactly what the guard wanted them to do in reference to some new work. Thereupon the guard had rushed upon him, threatening him with his bayonet: that neither he nor any of the other men had offered any resistance but that he had stood perfectly still until the guard had quieted down. Notwithstanding this, he was arrested and tried with the other men on October 4th, 1915. At that trial B----- was given four years imprisonment, three men eighteen months and the other men twelve months. All the men appealed and at the second trial, November 24th, 1915, B---- was sentenced to ten months, the others to three and two months, respectively. B---- alone appealed from this verdict. The other six men were satisfied with the verdict and did not appeal. Upon this trial, B---- was sentenced to two years and the other men to twelve and fifteen months, respectively.

Privates W—, L—, B—, G—, H—, and G— complained with much bitterness that inasmuch as they had already served their term of imprisonment according to the trial of November 24th, 1915, and inasmuch as they had not appealed from this verdict and inasmuch as they had already served the sentences imposed by this verdict and had been released, they could not understand why a new verdict of twelve and fifteen months respectively, should be reimposed upon them. They had at no time any aid or counsel to assist them or explain the nature of the proceedings of their present imprisonment imposed upon them by the court.

When the commandant was asked as to the status of the cases of these men, he replied in reference to the re-imprisonment of the penalty complained of by the men that while they had not appealed from the verdict of November 24th, 1915, he had appealed and the verdict imposed was the action of the court upon his appeal. In reference to their complaint as to counsel, he replied as in the other cases: "It was not customary to assign counsel for the prisoner in such cases."

Not only the cases here sited but in cases from other prison camps it was perfectly evident that the whole procedure took the nature more of legal persecution than of prosecution. The presumption on the part of the prisoner of war to appeal his case from the superior judgement of his captors could only be met on the appeal by increasing or doubling his sentence. When one takes into consideration that the officers of these court martials are German Officers, that the trial is held in a hostile atmosphere that the prisoner is not represented by counsel, that he has no one except himself to state his case for him and that even this statement of the case must be interpreted to the court by men not sympathetic to the prisoner



# A group of Negro prisoners

with a possibility that the interpretation may not express the facts or circumstances stated by the prisoner, it will not be at all surprising to learn that the prisoner felt that he had not been justly dealt with and viewing the cases here cited with other cases, one cannot escape the conclusion that he is justified in his position. Every effort was made to have the Embassy notified of the trial of men in which severe sentences were asked for. It was always impossible to have this request complied with and the only information the Embassy had, was obtained in an accidental way through camp inspectors or when the individual convicted was found later in one of the military prisons. In the case of Private F. A---- although a sentence of ten years imprisonment in jail was confirmed on an appeal, another appeal was taken by the prosecuting officer who insisted upon a death sentence in this case and yet notwithstanding this no word was sent to the Embassy and the case was only discovered by accident in the inspection of the camp at Kreis Celle. The report of this case submitted to the Embassy led to the employment of counsel and the cessation of any further pernicious activity. One can easily picture the plight of this young man. formerly a student at one of the Canadian Universities, confined for months in solitary confinement in a prison cell, without light, with little ventilation, and with the prospects of a capital sentence being passed upon him without aid or comfort from any one, who could speak his own language. One can easily imagine his relief when one fine day he finds in his cell some one speaking his own language, sympathetic to his case and to his position and carrying the assurance of counsel and interest to guard him in his approaching trial. It certainly was the plain duty of some one to have called the attention of the Embassy to the seriousness of this case in order that after two trials by their own court martial that the further prosecution which again only would mean persecution might cease.

During the inspection of the camp for prisoners of war at Scheuen (Kreis Celle), in a complaint filed by Private F. A— he stated that at the time of the disturbance for which he was imprisoned, another prisoner of war, Private L—, 2nd, Battalion, K. O. R., Lancashire Regiment, was shot and killed by the guard. The statement made by T. M— below indicates that previous trouble had existed at this camp, for which M— was punished.

Private F. A—, 13th Battalion, Canadian Highlanders, stated that he wished to file a statement of his case and enlist the aid of the Embassy to prevent an eventual death-sentence being passed in his case. He stated that he, with twenty-five other prisoners of war, were at a working camp at Bokleh. They were violently treated and bulldozed by the guards. This became so bad that they all demanded permission to see the commandant at their parent camp at Celle. The German

Feldwebel (Sergeant) left them and returned shortly with a guard of several soldiers. These men appeared to be much excited and, without any order from their noncommissioned officer or any act on the part of the accused, they attacked the British with their bayonets. This happened the 26th of May, 1916. The case was tried on June 20th. On appeal a previous sentence of ten years was confirmed. The prosecuting attorney appealed this verdict in the case of A-----. accusing him of being a ringleader, and demanding a death-sentence in his case. The other twenty-five men have been returned to the working camp, where they now are, while an appeal in their case is being passed upon.

Thomas M-----, 2nd Battalion, K. O. R. Lancashire Regiment, stated that he was at work draining a swamp at the same working camp (Bokleh) which has been mentioned above in the case of A-----; that about May 12th, 1916, a fortnight previous to the above occurrence, he was working with twenty-eight other men. He was told to push cars in a certain way, but did not understand as there was no proper interpreter present. The guards suddenly rushed not only at him but at the other prisoners of war, hitting them with the butts of their rifles. He saw A---- being attacked by a sentry at this time. As the guards approached him (M—) he raised his shovel above his head to protect himself. Three members of the guard "covered him" with their rifles, and he dropped

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his shovel. He was taken to the camp, on July 5th, at Hanover, where he was sentenced to ten years in jail.

It would be interesting to find out from the court records in the case of M—— as to how much disturbance had previously existed in this working camp, the reasons for it, and what measures were taken to correct it. A—— is afraid that a death sentence will be passed on him and requests the aid of the Embassy.

## CHAPTER VIII

### WITTENBERG AND OTHER PLAGUE CAMPS

HESITATE to discuss the camp at Wittenberg for the simple reason that the information on internal conditions during the period of plague has been obtained largely from the prisoners themselves, but notwithstanding this I think it quite impossible that the British medical officers who in the path of duty in this camp faced death, would for a moment, misstate the truth for purposes of political capital in their report. I may state that I have talked with prisoners still in the camp at Wittenberg who knew nothing of this official report and yet who corroborated in detail the statements made therein. In addition to this we have the reports and I have had the opportunity of personal communications from Mr. Osburne, who inspected the camp in October, 1915; Mr. Gerard, who inspected the camp in November, 1915, and in the personal and official reports of Dr. Ohnesorg, who visited typhus camps during the epidemics. Neither the ambassador nor the attachés of the Embassy were permitted to enter any of these camps during the epidemic. Dr. Ohnesorg, however, talked with

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some of the British medical officers through the barbed-wire barriers. I, therefore, feel justified in this discussion in quoting from these reports with the feeling that the above corroboration entitles them to full credence and serious consideration. In the report of Dr. Ohnesorg, of the camp at Gardelegen, he states: "Here as in most instances when typhus appeared, the guard and military authorities precipitously vacated the camp and left the administration in the hands of the prisoners of war. Sanitary conditions leading up to this epidemic had been indescribably bad. The interned had been needlessly crowded in the barracks, they were not sufficiently clothed, there had been inadequate facilities for bathing and lack of medicine, dressings and suitable food for the sick together with improper hospital accommodations paralleled the conditions at Wittenberg and no excuse can be offered for the callousness and cowardice exhibited by the authorities in these crises."

Typhus existed in a large percentage in several camps. The number of cases varied. In the camp at Cassel, which at that time contained eighteen thousand prisoners, were seven thousand cases, with a mortality of eleven percent. At Cottbas seventeen hundred and sixty five cases occurred with two hundred deaths. It will therefore be seen typhus is a highly contagious disease with only a relatively small mortality. The organism causing the disease is not known. It is generally admitted, however, that the body louse transmits the disease from one person to another. During the course of the disease high fever and delirium are the rule, and during convalescence marked body weakness, gangrene of the extremities, nervous and mental states are the complications.

In a consideration of the problem of Wittenberg it should be remembered that the German Government had repeatedly refused requests to place the different nationalities in separate camps by themselves and typhus has long existed as an epidemic disease in Russia. It is not considered, therefore, amongst them as any more serious than is typhoid with us. It occurs indeed in such mild form that the Russian doctors often overlooked it and did not recognize it as typhus.

It is admitted that the camp at Wittenberg was not only overcrowded but that supplies were so short that two and even three prisoners of war were sleeping on the same mattress; that the camp was dirty and vermin infested almost to a degree unbelievable; that the attitude of the German officers was hard and unsympathetic that even after the epidemic had passed over, when Mr. Osburne made his visit the prisoners were cowed by fear of punishment if they talked freely with the inspector. The use of police dogs recall the general attitude and atmosphere already described at Minden. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the epidemic broke out, to quote again the words of Dr. Ohnesorg: "The officers of this camp should exhibit callousness and cowardice."

The barracks originally built for one hundred and twenty men were overcrowded to the extent that one hundred and eighty to two hundred prisoners were in a single barrack. In all some fifteen thousand prisoners were housed in this camp of approximately ten acres in extent. The camp was surrounded by the usual row of double barbedwire. This camp consisted of a mixed population of French, Belgians, Russians, and British; as in the other camps the Russians predominated over the other nationalities. The winter of 1914, 1915, the year of the epidemic, was extremely cold. The British prisoners were not supplied with overcoats, with the natural result of crowding of the barracks, not only at night, but during the day. Added to this there was an insufficiency of underclothing, shoes and socks. Sanitary arrangements were insufficient, both for laundry and washing purposes. The presence of lice on the bodies and clothes of the men admitted from the front at the time of the outbreak of the epidemic became a serious matter. A statement was made by the British physicians that two or even three soldiers were forced to use the same mattress; the effect of this close contact upon the spread of the disease was most important. The epidemic of typhus broke out in this camp in the summer of 1914 and continued until July of the following

year. During this period of time there were as many as one hundred cases of typhus in the camp at one time.

The arrival of the British medical officers at the camp came about in the following way. From the month of November, 1914, thirteen English doctors had been detained at Halle. They were none of them required for attendance upon their own men, and it is difficult to understand how. consistently with the Geneva Convention, their continued detention was justified. Indeed in direct defiance of the provisions of that Convention, these doctors were treated as ordinary prisoners of war, and the Committee cannot resist the suspicion that they were deliberately detained by the German authorities so that they might be made available, if need be, for work of danger in relief of their own staff. Be that as it may, after three months' wrongful detention these doctors were, on the 10th of February, 1915, informed that they were to be distributed amongst the other German camps, and particularly the six were required for the camp at Wittenberg. By arrangement amongst themselves the six sent there were Major F----, Major P----, Captain S----, Captain V---- and Captain, then Lieutenant L----. No reason was given for the order that they should go to Wittenberg, and it was from the guard on the train that they first heard of typhus there. The further report of conditions in the camp are Major P----, Captain V----, and Captain L----. The conditions in the camp during the epidemic are almost unbelievable.

On arrival at Wittenberg they were marched to the camp. They visited the different compounds. They were received in apathetic silence. The rooms were unlighted; the men were aimlessly marching up and down; some were lying on the floor, probably sickening for typhus. When they got into the open air again Major F---- broke down. The horror of it all was for the moment more than he could bear. Later in the evening Major P---- and Captain V---- were directed to go to two temporary hospitals outside the camp, Major P----- to the Kronprinz Hospital, and Captain V— to the Elbarfin Hospital. There were no infectious diseases at either hospital, and the general conditions at each were satisfactory. These officers were kept there until the 7th of March, 1915.

Of the four officers left on the 11th of February at the camp itself, Captain L—— alone survives, and the conditions as he describes them during the period between the 11th of February and the 7th of March are full of horror.

Captain L—— found for instance, that while in the bungalows there was normally one mattress to three men, in the improvised hospital there were no mattresses at all. This, of course, was known throughout the camp, and in consequence there were many typhus patients scattered over the compounds who were determined not to come into the

hospital if they could help it. In one compound alone Captain L----- discovered fifty hidden cases of typhus. Further, when a patient was brought from the compound to the hospital, either the mattress on which he had lain was brought with him or it was left behind in his bungalow. If it was brought with him his former companions were left without anything to sleep on; if it was left behind his companions were still left to sleep upon the infected mattress, and it was almost inevitable that they should catch the disease. Again, in the absence of stretchers, all the typhus cases had to be carried down to the hospital on the tables on which the men ate their food, and there was no possibility of washing these tables because, as above stated there was practically no soap in the camp. Moreover, the German authorities at first refused to allow the whole compound No. 8 to be used for typhus patients. They required that these should be confined with other sufferers, a regulation for which it seems impossible to suggest any justification. The result simply was to spread the infection to those already afflicted in some other way.

During the first month the food ration for each patient was half a "petit pain" and half a cup of milk each per day. The only soup to be had was from the camp kitchen, and that came up in a wooden tub without a cover, and it arrived at the hospital full of dust and dirt. It was a hopeless diet for patients in a fever. In truth the ration was not a ration at all, it was a pretence. It was not even possible to give the patients warm water with their milk.

The camp conditions were too much for each of the four medical officers who were left there; two of them, Major F---- and Captain S----, very soon sickened, and they died of typhus about a month after their arrival. Captain F---- was attacked later by the disease and also died. There is no doubt in the minds of the committee that the condition to which the camp authorities had reduced the camp and the prisoners they had abandoned was directly responsible for the death of these devoted men. Lieutenant L----- was finally stricken with the disease on the 7th of March. after having for three days with a temperature due to typhus stuck to his work, there being no one then to take his place. He alone of the officers attacked finally recovered. When convalescent he bravely resumed his duty.

On the 7th of March Major P—— and Captain V—— were directed to return to the main camp. There they were met by Captain F——; Major F—— and Captain S—— were then dying. Lieutenant L——, as above explained, was in the early stages of typhus.

The British sick were lying scattered amongst the French and Russians, both in the compound No. 8 and in the other compounds of the camp. Being sometimes dressed in French, Belgian, or Russian uniforms, they were difficult to recognise. They were lying in their clothes on the floor, or on the straw mattresses above described. In the beginning there were no beds in the compound No. 8; there were not even, as has been shown, mattresses for all. Major P—— saw delirious men waving arms brown to the elbow with faecal matter. The patients were alive with vermin; in the half light he attempted to brush what he took to be an accumulation of dust from the folds of a patient's clothes, and he discovered it to be a moving mass of lice. In one room in compound No. 8 the patients lay so close to one another on the floor that he had to stand straddle-legged across them to examine them.

Captain V——'s description is even more appalling. It was impossible, he says, to obtain bedpans for the British patients, and consequently in cases of delirium, and even in less serious cases, the state of the mattress was indescribable.

The difficulty in obtaining sufficient drugs and dressing was for a long time extreme. Camphorated oil, Captain L—— says, could never at Wittenberg, contrary to his experience in other German Camps, be secured in adequate quantity, yet this was practically the only stimulant available. Day after day a list of medical requisites would be sent out, and only a third of the things requested would be supplied. Bed sores were common. In several cases toes and whole feet became gangrenous, and sufficient bandages were not available to dress them. One of the patients now returned to this country, Private L—— of the 1st Battalion Royal Scots of Fusiliers, in May had to have one leg amputated below the knee, and in July the other leg amputated at the same place, in both cases owing to gangrene. Had dressings at the proper time been available both feet would in all probability have been saved. And his case does not stand alone. The officers are quite satisfied that the post typhus gangrene, which was so common, was largely due to the fact that for so many patients there were neither socks nor anything else to keep their feet warm.

In the earlier stages of the epidemic there was practically no hospital clothing available for the British prisoners. There was only a small sulphur chamber for disinfecting purposes. When a patient's outer clothing was taken off to be sent to the disinfector he had to be left in his shirt, as no other clothing or shirts were supplied. Each patient brought his blankets from the camp with him, and as no covering could be provided for him while disinfection was taking place it was impossible adequately to disinfect his clothing unless he was to be left naked.

As regards the washing of patients in the hospital, this was entirely out of the question. Until a supply of soap was obtained, by Captain V——'s efforts, from England at a later date there was no soap forthcoming. The only supply was a small quantity secured from the officer's canteen, and that was kept for the very worst cases.

It was to Major P----'s great powers of organization, the devoted labors and strong personality of Captain V— and, after his recovery, the splendid work of Captain L----, that gradual improvement in the conditions was due. An observation ward was instituted in compound No. 8 and placed in charge of Captain L----. Major P---took over the treatment of typhus in the hospital. and Captain V----, in addition to other duties was placed in charge of the surgical ward. Major P----- at length obtained permission to collect, and he did collect, all the British typhus patients in one bungalow of that compound. He secured for his patients what bedding, hospital clothing, urinals, etc., he could, as these filtered daily from the hands of the Germans outside into the storeroom. He arranged that the milk and the soup should be left in special vessels before the bungalow; he obtained for each patient about three cupfulls of milk per day, and for the convalescents a thin soup and some white rolls. Clothing, beds, and bedding, were gradually collected, so that the patients could at least be put into clean clothes. and their own were disinfected in a movable steam disinfector that after a time was working. As the cases decreased in number the appalling overcrowding of the hospital in the beginning at length disappeared.

After the middle of April, however, beds and clothing were, as above appears, gradually obtained for the hospital, and as the weather became warmer the cases rapidly decreased in number. With the decrease in the patients the supplies became adequate, so that now every patient in Wittenberg hospital, whatever his ailment, has a bed and proper hospital clothing.

When one pictures this camp with its fifteen thousand prisoners with the conditions above described, with an atmosphere even worse than that of the average prison camp, and there suddenly appears an epidemic of one of the most fatal diseases known to medical science, it is easy to imagine the helpless horror that overtook these men, helpless to fight the unseen invader, and confined between barbed-wire and thrusting bayonets, unable to flee before it. It was from this plaguestricken camp with its helpless and hopeless content of human beings, caught like so many rats in a wired trap, that the entire German staff and guard to a man responsible for their lives, responsible indeed for their own honor and their safe keeping, deserted this camp and left the inmates to their fate. Not a single German was left within the camp enclosure. The officers and the guard stood without the wire entanglements, and all communications held between the doctors who took charge of the camp and the camp authorities took place through this enclosure. A trolley shute about twenty yards long worked by winches at either end was used for the supply of food for the hospital and medical officers. Until the epidemic was over in August, 1915, not a Ger-

man medical officer appeared in the camp with the exception of one visit by Dr. A---- some two months after the outbreak of the epidemic. Another German later in the epidemic visited the hospital for bacteriological specimens for research work. It is useless to comment on such a condition of affairs as obtained at Wittenberg. One can well imagine the fear of such an epidemic upon the layman. The physician, however, is trained to look upon contact with epidemic diseases as a part of his day's work. Wittenberg and some of the other German typhus camps will remain as a blot upon the escutcheon of the German medical profession. Whether justly or not it would be well to call attention to the military side of the profession as contrasted with the profession as a whole. I believe that if the military authorities had called for volunteers to manage the medical side of these camps that it would have found more than a sufficient number of simple, plain German doctors to face the danger and assume the risk and responsibility. Yet in the absence of this, German science and German medicine will bear the responsibility and the odium attached to the act of men who, when human life was placed in their hands, failed to live up to their plain duty. When one looks for a justification it is hard to find. At the time the epidemic broke out there was a sufficiency of all supplies, including food, to meet such a crisis. On March 16th, 1916, the following statement and explanation of Wittenberg was

given to a member of the United States Embassy Staff, by the Inspector General of the prisoners of war camps of the 4th Army Corps:

"The General spoke at length of the epidemic of spotted fever (Fleck-Typhus) which had broken out in several of the soldier prison camps last year. He said that the disease had been practically unknown in Germany before the introduction by the Russian prisoners, that the symptoms were not recognized, and that the German doctors had not known at first how to treat the cases which appeared. He showed me a chart showing the course of the disease at Wittenberg, where it appeared on the 15th of January, 1915, and was eradicated on the 23rd of July. In all there had been 1.975 cases and 185 deaths. The mortality had been least among the Russians, and greatest among the Belgians and French proportionally. Among the German guards there had been 8 cases and 2 deaths, and among the British 125 cases and 39 deaths, while 79 Russians, 64 French and 1 Belgian had also died. The General said that the isolation of the camp and the order forbidding the German guards to enter it, had been absolutely necessary to prevent a spread of the disease to the city of Wittenberg, where most of the guards had their homes and that, as a result of these precautions, there had not been a single case among the civilian population."

It is evident, therefore, that the 4th Army Corps Command finds source for gratification in confining this epidemic to these camps. It does not explain the act of the medical profession nor does it explain the treatment of the guards who contracted the disease at the beginning of the epidemic and the prevention of the spread of the disease from these men to the city of Wittenberg. If German physicians could be ordered to treat these men why could not one at least be permitted, if not ordered into the camp to live with the impossible conditions and thereby see the necessity of aid to so many dying men.

If Wittenberg were an isolated instance I might consider it the action of one man with a misguided idea of his duty to a local community binding him to higher duty to helpless men confined behind barbed-wire in impossible surroundings; but we have already read the statements of the officials of the 4th Army Corps, and the report of Dr. Ohnesorg at Gardelegen and other camps.

The same attitude was met in a general way in reference to the prevalence of tuberculosis in Limberg. The attitude of the foreign office and the army corps headquarters at Frankfort was repeatedly directed to the existence of the exceptionally large number of lung cases in the overcrowded barracks of the Irish prisoners of war at Limburg. Not only was no attention paid to it but officers from the army headquarters disputed the existence of tuberculosis there when the statement of the men ill in the barracks and their appearance would have made the diagnosis easy even for a layman, and when both in the Revier-Stuben and in the hospital the diagnosis boards at the head of the bed was open evidence to the contrary.

When the Swiss commission for the internment of sick and wounded prisoners in Switzerland visited this camp the attention was again called by them to the disproportionately high percentage of lung cases in this camp. Confident of the ability and with faith in the German medical profession I offered to have a decision of this question and the necessity for a detailed survey of all the prisoners in the overcrowded barracks in order to prevent the spread of this disease, left to a commission of three German specialists whom I would name. Notwithstanding this nothing was done. Here again, as in Wittenberg, it was perfectly evident that lack of consideration of the Irish prisoner was intentional and a reprisal for his failure to cooperate in the formation of the Irish Brigade.

## CHAPTER IX

#### POLITICAL CAMPS

THE camp at Limburg just mentioned and the camp at Zossen (Wunsdorf) are both examples of political or, more specifically, seduction camps. In both camps exceptional treatment was extended to the prisoner of war not from any humane principle, nor with the idea of doing good for the sake of doing good but more specifically with the intent by means of favorable treatment and propaganda to induce the prisoner of war to abandon the country for whose service he enlisted and to fight for Germany or with her allies. During the first eighteen months of the war both Irish prisoners and Irish officers were segregated in camps apart from the other British officers and prisoners. The enlisted men were finally placed in the camp at Limburg.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>I also wish to state that ——, who arrived at Crefeld about December, told me that all the Irishmen at his camp (I think, but am not sure, that it was ——) were collected together shortly before he left, and were harangued by the commandant, who stated that the Emperor was aware of the down-trodden state of Ireland, and now wished that the Irishmen should be pleced in a separate camp, where they would be better fed and treated differently from the Englishmen. He further stated that subsequently they went in a body to the commandant, and said they did not wish to have any different treatment from their compatriots.

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This camp is one of the best constructed camps in Germany and with beautiful situation in the suburbs of the picturesque town of Limburg. Here to prepare the prisoner for the coming of Casement he was given exceptional care and treatment and fuller liberty than in the average camp. To this camp was sent Sir Roger Casement to give a series of lectures on historical (?) subjects. The lectures were poorly attended and as soon as the real purpose of the lectures was disclosed serious trouble developed in the camp whenever Casement appeared. At first he was given full liberty to circulate in the camp as he pleased. Later a guard was sent with him in order to protect him from the indignant Irish who resented both his presence and his mission. This resentment was indeed so deep-seated that months after the episode had passed the mere mention of this gentleman's name was sufficient to stir up the fighting blood of these men. They could see nothing humorous in the whole affair and any attempt to joke about the matter was resented. After this long period of preparation with every inducement held out to these men, of freedom of the prison camps, a regiment of their own with green uniforms and a harp embroidered on the coat, only thirty-two men out of the four thousand prisoners was the pitiful haul to form the famous regiment and new ally to the Central Powers. One can well imagine the deep injury to the sense of loyalty of these men when with their keen sense of humor, they



The camp for Irish prisoners at Limburg, the scene of the Casement propaganda

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could see nothing particularly funny in these thirty-two men marching out of the camp in their green uniforms. They even would not admit that the thirty-two were Irish. "Scotch Irish or renegade Irish from America," they said, in excuse for these hated few who failed to live up to their plighted trust.

Almost immediately after the failure to seduce these men from their loyalty to Great Britain. a change of attitude was manifested. Both in the camp and in the working camps to which they were sent rigid discipline and limitation of liberty were enforced. Those in the camp who were foremost in their antagonism to this manifestation of German diplomacy were transferred from the main camp to others and to working camps, where they were forced to live on the camp foods and their packages and letters were not forwarded to them by the German noncommissioned officer placed in charge of these departments of the camp. Difficulties were placed in their way in the use of the camp library. Here, as at Schiedenmuhl, Langensalza, etc., a large number of prisoners were found in the punishment barracks; bitter complaints were registered that men too ill to be about were ordered out of bed by the German guard notwithstanding the orders of the medical officer.

The Roman Catholic priest, a man of their own race assigned to this camp by special agreement with the Vatican, as a result of his refusal to countenance Casement and the German propaganda, was interfered with in his religious functions and eventually ordered out of Germany. His heart was in this work and he well knew what was in store for these helpless men and how much they would need his help. Eventually the German Government was forced by the Vatican to reconsider their action and while he was permitted to remain, his actions were curtailed and he was not permitted to visit other camps or working camps to which the Irish were sent. Father Crotty stands out, with such men as Mr. Harte of the Y. M. C. A., Mr. Hoover in Belgium, and the Rev. Mr. Williams, as great potential factors for good in the present conflict.<sup>1</sup>

In the working camps to which these men were sent the same story of reprisal attitude was told. On the first visit of inspection to the Limburg camp after the Casement fiasco the commandant

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Delmer is the authority for the following:

"Among the Irish prisoners at the camp at Limburg the Germans tried even to use the priest as their tool. After Roger Casement had exhausted his arts trying to persuade the men to desert the flag, Father Crotty, whom I look upon as one of the heroes of the war, was asked by his German mentors if he would speak a word of authority to the waverers at mass.

"'Men of Galway, Clare and Connaught," he said, "'the German Emperor wants you to fight on his side. Some people have been telling you it is the proper thing for you to do. I have been asked to tell you the same, hut I was sent to you by his Holiness the Pope, not to talk politics to you, not to mislead you, nor to he a procurer for any king or kaiser on earth, but to tell you in the name of God and the holy church what is good and right for men to do. As a priest of God I tell you it is your duty as good Catholics to keep the oaths you have taken, to be loyal to your King, and that I have to say to you this day. May the grace of God rest on you and help you."

reported in a very casual way that one of the Irish prisoners had been shot by the guard. Circumstances as detailed by him were so inconsistent with the report that filtered into the camp from the working camp that an investigation was immediately ordered. So much obstruction was placed in the way of this investigation that the ambassador immediately took charge himself notwithstanding the fact that the commandant at the camp at Limburg stated that a military inquiry had exonerated the guard. Just as soon as they realized the matter was to be fully investigated they ordered a court martial and then stood firmly against any investigation on the grounds that until the court martial was completed neither the American Ambassador or any one else would be permitted to talk to any of the Irish prisoners who were present at the time. It was quite evident that were it not for the investigation of the American Embassy the court martial would not have been ordered; and it was only then started as a block to any further procedure on the part of the American Embassy. In similar cases at Scheidenmuhl, Soltau, etc., the right to interview the prisoners and others was not questioned. The assumption in this case was to the effect that the military authorities at Limburg and the army corps command at Frankfort had something to hide in this case and took this method of concealing it. The report of this investigation was never known to the Embassy notwithstanding the promise of immediate action. This case had

not been reported to the Embassy and was discovered in the routine camp inspection. Notwithstanding the protest at the time and the demand that such cases should be immediately reported, within a very short time a second case occurred in which the prisoner was killed by the guard and this case was likewise not reported to the Embassy, but was accidently discovered. The notice sent to the family of the dead man stated simply that he had died and was buried at Limburg. The military authorities in their discussion of this case were quite proud of the fact they had given the man a military funeral but later confessed that the guard who killed him was a prominent member of the military escort who assisted at the interment.

The commandant stated that on May 28th, a group of prisoners working on an Arbeitskommando at Langenseifexe. some little distance from Limburg, were taken by their guard to an inn and permitted to drink. Among the men was P. M---of the Second Connaught Rangers. The men after a time spent in drinking in the inn were taken by the guard to the dwellings where they were quartered in the village. When in his quarters, M---suddenly became excited and violent, jumped about the room, screaming and crying out that he must have more to drink, and pounded upon the walls. The noise attracted the attention of civilians, among them the burgomeister, who attempted to quiet the man. M—— then seized a piece of iron and made an attack upon the burgomeister, who

escaped him. He then turned upon the guard and threw the iron at him, which the guard dodged, and this was repeated. Again he attacked the guard in the same manner, whereupon the guard shot him, the man dying in a few minutes. The commandant stated that the guard was given a hearing before a board, and his act pronounced justified in self-defence. The commandant stated that M----- was regarded as having become suddenly mad or was intoxicated. The guard had stated that he had permitted the men to drink no more than men are commonly supposed to be able to drink without intoxication; and in view of this. the commandant stated that if the man was to be regarded as having been drunk, he must have been abnormally sensitive to the action of alcohol. He stated that the man had given no trouble previously, was not known to be inclined to drink, and was not known to have given any signs of being queer or unbalanced. The commandant stated that the guard had violated his instructions and regulations in permitting the prisoners to drink and drinking with them as he had done. He stated that the body of M----- was given a military funeral at the place where his death occurred; and that the death had been reported to the army corps to which the camp was attached.

During our inspection the senior noncommissioned officer of the camp, Sergeant J. D—— of the Royal Connaught Rangers reported to us the death of P. M—— and stated that application had been made to the camp authorities to have some of his regimental noncommissioned officers and comrades attend the funeral. This was refused. Then they requested that the body of M—— be buried with other members of his regiment who had died and had been buried in Limburg. This request was likewise refused. None of the men who were present at the working camp at the time of the shooting were in the camp at Limburg at the time of our visit.

The same seduction by the same means but with much more disastrous results from the German standpoint was tried with the Irish officers. As far as I know, with a possible single exception, not one of these officers was disloyal to his word. They again paid the penalty in various ways but not to the same degree as did the enlisted men, for their resentment to such approaches.

In contradiction to the commandant's report, statements obtained from witnesses at the time, gave an entirely different version of this affair. It was stated that the shooting of the prisoner was entirely unjustified. He admitted that he had been drinking and was boisterous and had not obeyed immediately the order of the guard to turn in, who therefore shot him. It seems highly improbable that the four or five Germans present including the guard could not easily have subdued a man who was drunk and violent and who had no more deadly weapon than a tin wash basin. According to the witnesses present the piece of ł

iron mentioned in the commandant's statement. was the innocent wash-basin, referred to. In the interest of this case the Central Government in Berlin made efforts to prevent the visit of Mr. Gerard and myself to Limburg and when they realized that the case was going to be investigated whether they liked it or not, sent a member of the Foreign Office on the train with us to protest and reason with us and when we arrived at Limburg we found the staff officer from the army corps headquarters at Frankfort, sent there with the avowed purpose of preventing any investigation either there or at the working camp. While nothing further was done we obtained sufficient direct information not only in this case, but in the case which immediately followed it, to give us a fairly complete case upon which to make a vigorous protest concerning the attitude of the German authorities to the Irish prisoners.

While such a course of action did not seem to give definite tangible results from a legal standpoint it had a very natural effect of serving notice on the German authorities that the United States Embassy would not only be satisfied with making a single report of such occurrences but insisted upon keeping up a running fight for the correction of such conditions; which while it might not lead to any change of heart will at least keep the guards from such reckless action as to lead to the death of any more prisoners. While we might consider from a purely abstract standpoint that such deaths were justified, when all the circumstances of repression and inhuman treatment which followed the Casement failure, we are face to face again with Minden, Wittenberg, Schiedenmuhl, etc.

The Irish brigade in its resplendent uniforms, drunk with liberty, aided and abetted by other ethereals, did not present in this condition that martial appearance which their Teutonic allies had proudly pictured to themselves. After a fitful and hectic moment in Berlin they underwent a sudden disappearance. Their whereabouts are unknown. Limburg was no safe place for them. Upon the demand of the American Ambassador the German officials replied that they had a perfect right to liberate prisoners of war if they so chose: the reply to this was, that while this might be true taking into consideration the treatment of the other Irish prisoners this Government had a right to demand that they be presented for inspection at any time. This principle was finally admitted and the disloyal thirty two were found incarcerated in a camp near Berlin and the maximum "that virtue has its own reward" was here exemplified.

#### ZOSSEN-WUNSDORF

We turn to a more pleasant and agreeable picture in consideration of this camp. While the Mohammedan and Hindu was occasionally found in other camps they were eventually all concentrated at the camp at Wunsdorf. <u>This was in</u> many respects the model camp of Germany. Here the Oriental was given exceptional and favorable treatment.

Thirty-four hundred prisoners of war were confined in this camp. Of the five hundred and sixty one British three hundred were Ghurkas, one hundred were Sikhs, one hundred and six Mohammedans, sixty three Shakurs. In addition to this the rest of the prisoners of war were confined with Mohammedans and Orientals from the French Army. Not only were the barracks well constructed, roomy and clean, but special facilities were offered for housing the different racial and religious groups together. Individual kitchens for these different groups were provided with every facility for the preparation of food according to their religious rites and tastes. The bathing arrangements were exceptional. The bathhouses, disinfecting plant, wash-houses, drying building, etc., were in excellent condition. A special and very ornate mosque was erected for religious services and as an adjunct to this a special bathing establishment finely constructed, lined with white tiles provided with constantly running water with specially arranged places for the washing of the feet, preparatory to entering the mosque. The officers assigned to the camp were men who had seen service in India and the East, who spoke and understood the language of their prison groups and whose attitude of sympathy and understanding was very touching for a German prison camp. The German officers were very affable and deplored the fact that we had not brought our cameras with us to take some pictures of this, a very picturesque spot. It was indeed a concentrated living picture of the East with all the light, the color and the mystery of the Orient. We assumed, however, in our visit to this place that a camera would. as in other German prison camps, be as welcome as a rattle snake, or a Colorado beetle in a German potato patch, and to ask permission to use one would accentuate the statement. made in the public press that the attaches of the Embassy were spies in the service of the British Government, an attitude of mind which was equally manifest in the inspection of some of the camps.

We left this camp with the general impression that this was indeed an ideal camp where the men were treated in a humane and kindly way, and where their tastes in food were considered and a camp in which the German Government supplied a full sufficiency of food, not only of meat and potatoes, but such rare things in Germany as rice and wheat flour. This exceptionally good opinion of this camp, however, was marred by the information which came to us later that the impression which was conveyed to us was not altogether correct and that much of this food material was sent directly from England through the Y. M. C. A. and other channels; and that further by the widespread rumor in diplomatic circles which necessarily lacked official confirmation that by such means and show of kindness some two thousand of these men were weaned away from the Allies and sent to Turkey to fight against those to whom they had previously given their allegiance. Such are political camps; the one a success, the other a failure; the one an Oriental Paradise in prosaic Germany, the other a camp of repression and reprisal, and a disappointment.

As part of the crusade for the conversion of Mohammedan prisoners, members of the Turkish Government visited this camp at various times. The following is a translation of the speech delivered by Mustafa Redin Bey, Turkish member of Parliament and President of the Society for National Defense:—

"We are very happy to have been invited here by the Imperial German Government. We bring to you the greetings of our Rulers and our Sultan, who are your brothers of the same Faith. For a soldier it is a great misfortune to be taken prisoner. You, however, have not the justification that you have fought for your faith and your race. You have been drawn into this struggle by force. Thanks, however, to the extraordinary goodness of the High German Government, they have taken cognizance of your religion, your customs and manners, yes, even more, namely that which has been lacking in your home, learning to read and write, is here extended to you. They have called here special teachers to give you special instruc-

tion in your religion and speech. We hope that you will prove thankful for this and what you have here learnt you will spread in your homes amongst your brothers. Bear in mind always that you are children of the Turkish people, a people of nearly 7,000,000 souls, a race that inhabits a region from the Balkans to Mongolia. When you consider this, may the time hasten and the day come when we, I hope, will all be united and nationalized in a single race. In conclusion I invite you in thankfulness in gratitude to remember in your prayers and to praise our exalted rulers, the Sultan, his illustrious ally, Kaiser Wilhelm II, our victorycrowned allied armies and the great German and Turkish Peoples. Sie leben hoch! Tschok Yaschasyn."

It is stated in the newspaper report above translated that those present joined in a lusty hurrah. This speech was then translated from the Turkish into Tartar by one of the officials present (Nord Deutsch Alg. Ztng. May 30, 1916).

One can picture Sir Roger Casement making such a speech to the Irish in Limburg and one could also truthfully report that there was a very spirited response, but of a somewhat different nature than that above quoted in the camp at Zossen. What results this spirited appeal to the faithful produced was not mentioned in this journal in its subsequent issues.

To do good for the sake of doing good is one

thing; to do good on the other hand for an ulterior purpose and with the motive that could not even be stretched into a semblance of virtue, seemed to be the object of the political camps.

### CHAPTER X

دىر يىغى المحتدة يعا العهره

#### WORKING CAMPS

**T**N previous wars it was the custom to exchange prisoners of war, man for man, officer for officer, of equal grades or multiples of lesser grade for officers of higher rank. During the present war no such exchange has taken place. The prisoners so badly wounded that there was no possibility of their being further employed in military service, munition works, etc., have been exchanged. If we examine into the reasons for this deviation from the practice of previous wars we will find that it rests largely upon the economic problem involved in the countries at war. At the end of the first year of the war two factors entered largely into the decision of the German Government to use the prisoner of war as a workman. On account of the blockade by the British fleet the production of food for the German population and for the prisoner of war became a pressing and urgent prob-The use of munitions had far exceeded that lem. which the military authorities had counted upon and the conversion of many industries to this use, with an attempt to maintain the national industries of the country, led to the demand of an increased amount of labor. The war had already

drawn into the fighting ranks every able-bodied man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Germany has under arms nine millions of men. From an economic standpoint we must consider each man as a working machine for the conversion of energy. The amount of work that may be expected from such a machine can be fairly estimated from the amount of the intake of food in heat units. Each man in ordinary work uses up six hundred food units (calories) for the purpose of work. When this is calculated for nine millions of men in the army, it means that the remaining group, male and female, are burdened with an overload of at least fifteen per cent. Tn order to compensate for this extra work the mental, muscular and nervous strain-a corresponding increase of food becomes necessary. When on account of lack of food the native population is not able to take on this extra work the German Government and the military authorities naturally turned to the one million six hundred thousand able-bodied men. prisoners of war under their authority and for whose keep they were responsible to supply it.

Would this large body of men, hostile in spirit, give aid and comfort to their enemy in any such fashion? Of this evidently the military authorities never had any doubt. The prisoner of war was a military problem; he would take orders when given him or if he disobeyed or resisted, so much the worse for him. Furthermore, there was the international law of right on their side, inasmuch as it is stated in the Hague Convention :---

#### 1907. ARTICLE 6

The State may utilize the labor of prisoners of war according to their rank and aptitude, officers excepted. The tasks shall not he excessive and shall have no connection with the operations of the war.

Prisoners may be authorized to work for the public service, for private persons, or on their own account.

Work done for the State is paid at the rates in force for work of a similar kind done by soldiers of the national army, or, if there are none in force, at a rate according to the work executed.

When the work is for other branches of the public service or for private persons the conditions are settled in agreement with the military authorities.

The wages of the prisoners shall go towards improving their position, and the balance shall be paid them on their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance.

Would it not be better to have the thousands of German prisoners in French and British camps working in their home industries? They would work more willingly without guard and with better results. Why not, therefore, exchange prisoners? As far as Great Britain was concerned, the proportion of trained men in Germany to those in Great Britain was tremendously on the side of Germany. To exchange twenty thousand members of the expeditionary force, all trained, professional soldiers, for twenty thousand German soldiers would not add very much to the German army, but would be the big asset for the newly formed Kitchener army. It was further assumed



# A working camp



Internment camp at Holzminden

that the German prisoner of war in England would be of little value for the British on account of the resistance of the labor unions to their employment in industries. For these reasons Germany had everything to lose and little to gain by such an exchange. These same reasons obtained in reference to the French prisoners, but to a less marked degree. German prisoners were employed in France, but here again the four hundred thousand French prisoners would be a greater asset to France with its smaller army than an equal number of German prisoners would be to Germany. The British prisoners, and to a large extent the French prisoners, were supplied with food from France and England. This very large food importation was of tremendous assistance in supplying food necessary for productive purposes. The repatriated German prisoner would have to be fed entirely by German products. In France and in England the prisoner of war was well fed and cared for. This, therefore, was an additional reason.

With all these matters clearly in mind the prisoner was put to work. He was employed in all conceivable kinds of skilled and unskilled labor. After almost a year of this experiment it may be stated, in a general way, from the standpoint of results that the experiment was successful. In agricultural work the efficiency mark reached certainly 80 per cent. I have discussed this subject with the directors of all kinds of manufacturing

industries, but while there was a tendency to depreciate the value of prisoner-of-war labor it may be stated in a general way that the efficiency varies between 50 and 75 per cent. After months of training, the efficiency very often was even higher than this. When it is taken into consideration that the pay for this labor was very small and in the case of the British prisoner he was self-supporting as to food, the income from a German standpoint was very high. Farm labor, for example, was paid in twenty pfennigs (four to five cents) per day. The attitude of the employer in depreciating the prisoner-of-war labor was often the preliminary excuse for harsh and forceful measures in order to increase the labor output. Τt was hardly to be expected that the prisoner of war would work with the same spirit and energy as the German workman. After months of experience it was a common statement made by the directors of plants employing prison labor, that if the prisoner of war was well fed and well treated good results could be obtained. Here again it was realized that, even when the spirit was willing, the amount of energy unit to be derived from the human machine was in direct proportion to the heat units taken in. and that a certain amount could be eliminated by proper housing, good clothing, good sanitation, and a humane attitude that lessened the mental and nervous strain to confinement. When these conditions were met, when the prisoner was

well treated, exceptionally good results were obtained.

The prisoner of war realized that physically, mentally and morally he was much better off employed in some useful occupation than confined in the depressed atmosphere of listless waiting day by day in a large camp. When, however, the conditions at work were unpleasant, when the atmosphere of the barracks was more gloomy and unhygienic than in the parent camp, the men were not only discontented, but did their work unwillingly and with unfavorable results in every direction.

During the summer of 1916 it may be conservatively stated that out of the 1,600,000 prisoners of war at least 75 per cent, or 1,200,000 were employed in productive industries. Quite a large proportion were employed in agriculture. It may be stated in a general way that prisoners employed in farm labor were well treated and cared for by the farmer population. The distinction between the German people and the German Government was here very manifest. The prisoner of war, whether he be British, French or Russian, working in the fields with his employer and his family, eating at the same table and often housed in the same house soon lost the character of a hated enemy and became a simple plain human being with companionable qualities. In such cases there was little complaint as to food and the farmer's own food products, increased by the food packages received

from home, afforded enough nutrition to keep the prisoner in good health and with a minimum of discontent. In the smaller farmer communities the relationship between the prisoner of war and the farmer population became a matter of concern to the military authorities and a notice was posted in all the smaller villages making it a penal offense to have any communication with the prisoner of war. The farmer employer was usually made officially a military guard of his prisoners, if indeed he was not already a member of the Landsturm. On such farms the prisoner was given a large degree of liberty. He was often found alone in the fields tilling the soil and at times permitted to drive into the village alone. In most of the army, corps the prisoners did not live with the farmer. but were housed in the assembly hall of the village inn; here from thirty to two hundred prisoners would be housed at night under a German guard, of a noncommissioned officer and two to six men. They would breakfast in the early morning and would then be distributed to the farms in the surrounding country. They would have the midday meal with the farmer and return at nightfall to the barrack. Usually this arrangement was relatively satisfactory and when it was not it was due to the brutal and inconsiderate attitude of the guard. This, however, was the rare exception. The British and French prisoners were as a rule popular with their farmer employers and their families and when well treated made excellent workmen. The

prisoner rarely attempted to escape and rarely requested to be returned to the parent camp. Even when isolated he picked up a pidgin German sufficient for purposes of communication. This vocabulary, however, was too limited for the discussion of political questions and there was less discussion here as to "who started the war" than elsewhere in the civilized world. Prisoners employed by the larger landholders were less well treated and often without any evidence of the human relationship that on a smaller farm made for relative contentment. Two elements made for unhappiness in the life of the prisoner of war, i.e., the presence of the guard with a fixed bayonet whenever a man looked up from his work, thus reminding him of his state and recalling the second element of worry, i.e., the fate of his family, what had become of them and what was to be their future. On the farm the bayonet was entirely absent or only appeared with the guard at nightfall.

A different story is to be told of land reclamation projects. Here we begin to deal with the soulless corporation, here we begin to deal with a system of peonage. Apart from the agricultural population the rest of the prisoners of war employed in labor are loaned out to corporations against their will and often against their principles, to be forced to work at the point of the bayonet, and whose health and welfare and often whose life are of secondary consequence to the results to be obtained from their labor. One can easily see here the possibilities for great evil. We may assume that a corporation has no soul. When the brains of the corporation realized in the case of the prisoner as the slaveowner does with the slave that nervous, mental and physical health are financial assets, the prisoner is well treated as a matter of business policy. Unfortunately the directorate of the large proportions of these industries were lacking in this type of brain power and this strangely enough was as often found in a large, rich corporation, employing thousands of men as in small corporations employing a few hundred.

The reason why land reclaimant projects present conditions worse even than those met with in the mining and steel industry is because this work is let out by the contract system and the contractor was concerned only with immediate results at the minimum expenditure for housing, food, etc. Reclamation projects for swamp land presents an unhealthy type of work. When all these conditions were taken into consideration it is not surprising to find that serious trouble often developed in these camps. The bad handling and nagging unreasonable attitude of the guard produces a state of mind on the part of the prisoner which is decidedly resistant and pugnacious. The prisoner works throughout the entire day on wet moorland. lives on a monotonous diet of canned foods and returns each night to sordid, dirty, overcrowded

barracks. This monotonous slave work continues day after day and month after month. An unreasonable guard is bad enough for men in such a temper, but when in addition to this the guard is imbued with the idea and spirit of the contractor and his foreman in driving these men to do exceptional work, to get the last ounce of energy out of them, resistance and refusal to obey may be expected. The prisoner of war has no legal method of protest; if he refused to work this is a penal offence for which in most of the army corps he is court martialed. Theoretically he ought to have the right of appeal to the commandant of the camp. When conditions are bad, and he insists upon this right, a charge of refusing to work is lodged against him by an unsympathetic guard, and in such instances the word of the guard is taken against that of the prisoner. Theoretically the prisoner of war has a right to appeal to the American Embassy by letter, if the guard does not tear up the letter, or the prison camp authorities refuse to forward it on the rights reserved by them, as I have noted elsewhere. Unless, therefore, a member of the Embassy should come across these cases in the routine inspection, nothing is done and bad conditions grow worse. While the German Army may have an inspection of their own, as far as I could determine this consists of a report from the guard, and I never came across any evidence of an abatement of evil by such in-

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spection. For this reason a routine inspection of all prison camps was planned. The magnitude of this task may be imagined when in the fourth army corps alone we were told that there were some eighteen thousand working camps, in three thousand of which British prisoners were employed.

#### WORKING CAMPS AND MINES

Coal mining industry in Germany includes not only the deep underground mines, but also the mining of a soft brown coal from immense surface pits where the overlying layers of sand have been removed by excavation. In the surface mining the prisoner of war is employed in loading and unloading the cars and most often the sand cars rather than the coal cars. He is as a rule not employed in the pits and the British prisoner was not employed in the factories for compressing the soft granular coal into bricklets. The French prisoners were, however, employed in this industry. The prisoners were as a rule well housed and well treated in this soft coal district. In the deep underground coal pits or coal mines an entirely different problem was presented. The mining of the coal does not differ in process from the same type of mining elsewhere. The prisoner of war is employed in the mines as miner's helpers and in the underground transportation of the coal. Inasmuch as he is part of a military problem he should take his orders only from the guard. A civilian foreman, according to this principle, would direct the guard, who would in turn order the men to do certain types of work. In the coal mining industry the guard remained on the surface while his prisoners were sent into the mines and were subject to the orders of the German mine foreman. This delegation of authority often gave rise to trouble. Through race hatred, or for other reasons, a prisoner could be very brutally handled by the German workmen in the mines. This could. however, only be with the cognizance and tacit permission of the guard. There is no industry where such great difference is seen both in the treatment of the men and the effect of good treatment on work production. In two camp mines in the same district and within a few miles of each other I have seen this contrast well demonstrated. In one of the mining camps conditions were indescribably bad; the housing arrangements were dirty, and dangerous and unsanitary. The food was bad, the guard was unreasonable, and the mine directors suspicious, mercenary and altogether a bad lot. They declined to show us anything and refused us permission to even talk to the men except when they were present. While the men were talking they busied themselves, ostentatiously taking notes and glowering at the poor prisoner. The guard was completely under their domination; this treatment had brutalized the men to such an extent that almost anything in the way of resistance or rebellion might happen. The men were compelled

to work when they were ill and an inspection of the report will show the general nature of the medical attention. In another camp the director of the mines was only too glad to show everything in connection with his place. The men were housed comfortably, had exceptionally good facilities for bathing, were permitted recreation and were treated in a human and sympathetic way. The mine authorities had no complaint to make against the prisoners and stated that they were good workmen. The prisoners on the other hand had no complaint to make, did not object to working in the mine, and their only request was that an English prisoner be sent from the parent camp as a workman who could play the piano which they had bought and installed in a large room with sufficient space for entertainments. The reaction of the prisoner to his surroundings is no better shown than in these two camps. The following are two official reports that will serve to contrast these two conditions:

NUMBER OF PRISONERS OF WAR. There are at this camp 375 prisoners of war, of whom 35 are British. The ranking noncommissioned officer is Lance-Corporal A. W. C----, 2nd Battalion, Sherwood Foresters.

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT. A coal mine near the city of Herno (Zech Friedrich der Grosae).

NATURE OF WORK. All the British here are employed underground in the mine, shoveling coal, loading ores, driving teams, etc.

HOURS OF WORK. There are two shifts, as follows:

Shift No. 1, 6 A. M. to 2 P. M. Shift No. 2, 2 P. M. to 10 P. M.

There is a rest period of twenty minutes about the middle of either shift, not, however, at any definite time. On Saturdays one half of the men, every other week in turn, work from 4 A. M. to 12 noon, and then return to work at 9 P. M. the same night and work until 5 A. M. the next morning (i.e., Sunday). The weeks work equals 56 hours.

PAV. The men are paid eighty pfennigs for each shift of eight hours.

HOUSING. The 375 prisoners of war are all housed in a barrack improvised from an old brick factory building, near the mine shaft. There are two rooms on the ground floor, a small entrance or hall room, and a larger room, approximately 75 x 42 feet. A flooring has been put in 16 feet above the floor to form a new room above. In this upper room the British were housed. The upper room was approximately 45 x 42 feet and 12 feet full height. The upper portion of five of the building windows give relatively little light and practically no ventilation. Some of the window-panes have been deliberately removed by the men in order to get more air. Two open wood stairways connect this room with the room below. The beds and straw mattresses are placed en masse directly in the floor in a sort of box arrangement. Each

man is supplied with two blankets, so called. As a matter of fact, many of these covers were extremely light and could in no wise be considered as blankets. Some of the men had blankets of the regular type.

The whole barrack, and particularly the room where the British are housed, is extremely dirty. The blankets are dirty, the mattresses are dirty, the floors are dirty, the entrance room is dirty and wet and sloppy from wash troughs just outside the door. Here, on the steps leading into the first floor is a room used for a night latrine, with a single bucket; the arrangement is dirty, and has a foul odor, which finds its way into the building, and about which much complaint was made by the men. Thirty five British are housed in this room.

LATRINES. The night latrine, above described, is insufficient for the night needs of 370 men housed in these buildings. The day latrine is situated in a near-by shed, built up against a building. It is of the flushing system, with sewer connection, and has five porcelain hoppers with seats. It is clean, in good order, and unobjectionable. It is, however, inadequate for the needs of 370 men.

CANTEEN. The canteen contains various toilet articles, soft drinks, tobacco, one variety of cakes, and several kinds of sausage.

POST AND PARCELS. Both mail and parcels have been irregular and delayed. At times parcels do not arrive for two or three weeks. Often the men are out of food from parcels for days and must then rely entirely on the camp food.

EXERCISE. The men are not allowed to go outside of the small compound, which is not large enough for football or other forms of relaxation. There is plenty of open space in the country surrounding the mine. There is no other form of recreation or amusement present here save for a small phonograph which the men have in their barrack.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES. Roman Catholics are taken out from time to time to a near-by church. The other British have had services at long intervals in a Union Church, where the pastor is able to speak English.

MEDICAL ATTENTION. A civil physician is employed by the company and up to two weeks ago visited the camp every other day. For the last fortnight he has been making daily visits. Complaints were made by the men that their complaints of illness were not properly investigated and that the treatment was negligible. The senior noncommissioned officer reported that as a result of this the men were often sent into the mine with bad colds and other types of illness, when they were not fit for work. They had no fault to find with the physician, whom they considered a good physician, but stated that there was entirely too much work for one physician for the time at his and their disposal. The physician was sent for by Freiherr von Holzhousen of the Inspection at Munster. The physician stated that he could only afford an hour for his visits to the camp. His records showed that during this period of time he saw and prescribed for one day 42 men, one day 46, one 35. This was taken at random from pages of the record. Of this number from 10 to 15 were new cases reporting for examination. It is evident from this record that the complaints made by the men as to investigation of their cases are justified.

BATHS. There are two rooms, one of which is used as a store room for the pit clothes; the other room adjoining is a bath room fitted up with sixteen showers with hot and cold water. This is clean and in good order.

The facilities for washing consist of two short troughs against the wall of the entrance room to the barrack building, and is entirely inadequate for the needs of the men, in addition to being unsightly and slopping up the lower barrack room. Only cold water is here supplied. An oblong tub in the compound is available for the use of the men in doing their personal laundry work. This again is entirely inadequate for the number of men in this camp.

KITCHEN. The kitchen and dining room are in an adjoining barrack. A German woman cook, with two women assistants, prepare the food. The kitchen has four kettles and a range. The food for the midday meal, consisting of a thick soup of beans and dried vegetables was to be served with pickled herring. We tasted the soup and found it not unpalatable, though inferior in flavor to the average camp soup. The men stated that the bread ration was 200 grammes per day. This was confirmed by one of the guards. Potatoes have not been served for several weeks. The men stated that they saw no evidence of meat in the camp for three months. A meal soup is served at 5 A. M. for breakfast, no coffee being served at this time. A coffee ration and herring or sausage is taken into the mine for second breakfast. Dinner at 3 P. M. is usually a meal with vegetable soup. At 7 P. M. soup is again served in the form of a meat gruel.

COMPLAINTS. Complaints were made by the men of:

(a) The barracks overcrowding, lack of ventilation and latrines.

(b) Rough handling by one of the guards.

(c) Rough handling by the civilian foreman in the mine.

(d) Insufficient food.

(e) Insufficient medical attention.

(f) Lack of space for exercise and recreation.

(g) The exceptionally long hours of work in the change of shift.

(h) That complaints made by letter to the American Embassy received no attention.

COMPLAINTS. (a) The condition of the barracks has already been described. The men had been living here for nine months. They did not appear to be in good health. The work in the mine during the day, and the lack of sunlight and fresh air in the barracks, together with the overcrowding, and the location of the British in the upper part of the building, where the foul air naturally collects, would all have a tendency to contribute to this condition.

(b) The men complained that one of the guards pushed and hauled the men about at times and took an antagonistic attitude towards them which he did not show to other prisoners. From this they inferred that his attitude and actions were engendered by a particular antipathy to British prisoners of war.

(c) The men complained that some of the civilian foremen in the mine, under whom they worked, were rough in the handling of the men and at times used physical violence towards them. As an example of this they quoted the cases of Private G-, L-, and L-. Private L---had been returned to the camp. Private G----who was at work in the mine was sent for, and when he came up, made the following statement. He stated that he and L---- were working on May 26th, in Tunnel 92a, and that the civilian threatened them with his pick. They therefore refused to work on account of fear of his violence. They were then taken out of this tunnel to shaft 5 where they remained for several hours up until 5 P. M., when a civilian foreman came to them and asked them if they would go to work. G----



Censoring food packages in the camp at Doeberitz

stated that he would and followed the civilian foreman towards the work designated. When he arrived at 200 ft. from shaft 5 he was hit on the back of the head, under the ear, with a stick by the civilian behind him; two other civilians who had concealed their lamps and up to then were not seen by him rushed at him, threw him down, and kicked him in the left chest and left leg. They then took him up in the cage (lift) to the Feldwebel; as the cage approached the surface one of the men gave him a violent blow on the jaw with his fist. On account of the bruises, pains in the chest, and headaches he was unable to work for a month. The guards tried to force him to work at first, but later he was permitted to lay off. Since that time he has returned to work.

Thomas W. L——, who was seen at the parent camp at Munster 1, corroborated the statement of G—— as to the above occurrence, and stated that he was present when the civilian threatened G— with a raised pick; that he was on the following day looking for the head foreman when he met G—— on the same errand; that he, L——, had been working, and because he had changed hands when he was pushing the car, he had been beaten by two civilians; that they (G—— and L——) were waiting at shaft 5 when they agreed to the suggestion that they return to work, when the assault occurred as above stated. L—— did not see what happened to G——, but stated that he (L——) was thrown to the ground by two of the

civilians and then beaten with clubs and kicked; that they were taken up in the cage (lift) to report to the Feldwebel. L---- did not see anybody hit G---- in the cage, but the cage was dark and he did not see everything that might have occurred. L---- was not a witness to the above occurrence and stated that he had had some quarrel with a civilian foreman, but that the trouble was largely his own fault, and he had no complaint to make about it. He had suffered three days arrest for this offense. He stated that when he had worked in the mine there had been no rough treatment on the part of the civilians, nor had he seen any in that part of the mine. An action in a civil court had been brought against the civilian involved in the above offense, and the testimony of both men had been heard. The case as yet has not been terminated.

(d) Insufficient medical attention has already been considered under medical care.

(e) The exceptionally long hours of work at the change of shift are considered under the report of other working camps.

(f) Insufficient food. The testimony of the men as to the insufficient quantity of food was very positive. We asked for the weekly menu, but did not secure it prior to our departure. It was promised us by mail by a representative of the mine.

(g) All the matters above complained of were brought to the attention of the inspection at Munster, who promised that the conditions there would be remedied as soon as possible. A staff medical officer was sent the following day to look into the question of the medical care of the camp. The legal action against the civilians will be pushed to an eventual conclusion. The barracks, we were promised, would have immediate attention and the evils above mentioned would be corrected by removing the British from their present quarters to hygienic surroundings. In a later statement from the inspection at Munster we are advised that the British are to be removed from the garret barrack and are to be provided with other and proper quarters as a result of the chief medical officer of the inspection, above referred to.

### WORKING CAMP AT LANGENDREER (ZECHESIEBEN FLAENTEN) PARENT CAMP MUNSTER II

The following is an official report of a visit of inspection of the working camp for prisoners of war at Langendreer, on July 17, 1916.

PREVIOUS REPORTS. Mr. Dresel on April 11th, 1916.

PRISONERS OF WAR. Total 309, British 143, Senior noncommissioned officer, Corporal H. B., Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

PLACE OF WORK. Coal mines and coke ovens in the town of Langendreer.

NATURE OF WORK. Seventy British prisoners of war work in the mine handling coal, driving teams, etc.; the others are employed in feeding the coke ovens, withdrawing the coke, and in general work about the plant. The senior noncommissioned officer is employed in the office and is in charge of the parcels.

HOURS OF WORK. Day shift: 6 A. M. to 8 A. M.; 8.30 A. M. to 12 noon; 1.30 P. M. to 4 or 5 P. M. Night shift: 5 P. M. to 9 P. M.; 9.30 P. M. to 1 A. M.; 3 A. M. to 7 A. M.

On the change of shift every other Sunday, the men work for twenty-four hours, with the intermission stated above. Although the men are paid five marks for this double shift, they would prefer to have it changed.

PAY. The men are paid from marks 1 to marks 1.20 per day with 5 marks for the double shift, and the coke men 80 or 90 pfennigs for a half day Sunday when they work.

BARRACKS. Since Mr. Dresel's report, changes have been made in the housing arrangements following the suggestions made therein.

The first barrack,  $35 \times 27 \times 20$  feet has 24 built-in, double-tier, bunks arranged around one side, leaving a large floor area free. There are four large windows and two ventilators. The mattresses are of straw, with three blankets, all in good condition and well cared for. In the corner of the room is a wash sink, adequate for the twenty-two men in this room. The room has plenty of light, is clean and well ventilated. It has a piano and the room is used as a concert and recreation room by the British in the camp, The second barrack is a gable, wood barrack,  $65 \times 18$  feet and 15 feet high. It has four windows and two new ventilators,  $3 \times 8$  feet in the roof installed according to suggestions made by Mr. Dresel at the time of his inspection. This gives to this room plenty of ventilation and there is now nothing to complain about in this barrack. The beds and bedding are in Barrack No. 1. Thirty-five men are housed here.

The third barrack is a transformed factory building, as described in Mr. Dresel's report. The barrack has three rooms, arranged in "U" shape; the smaller room is approximately  $16 \times 34$ feet; the room opposite to this is  $16 \times 30$  feet; and the large room where the British are housed is approximately  $40 \times 30$  feet  $\times 20$  high. This latter room has four large windows, and three new ventilators, have been installed since Mr. Dresel's visit. A small room adjoining the large room, houses six British. This room is  $20 \times 12$  feet. The bed and bedding are the same as in the other barracks. There is a wash room with six basins between the two end rooms.

LATRINES. The latrine is of the pail system, housed in a long outhouse and has 20 large-sized pails, covered by wooden top seats. These are emptied daily, are disinfected after use, and at the time of inspection were in good condition. They had the odor of the disinfectant and were unobjectionable. A urinal with running water is provided.

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BATHS. The baths have been described in detail in the previous report. They are exceptionally good, with modern equipment. Laundry facilities are provided in the form of two troughs with hot and cold water, with a capacity for simultaneous use by twenty-two men.

KITCHEN. The kitchen, canteen, and diningroom are housed in a separate, wood, barrack building. The kitchen is equipped with three kettles and a range. The food is prepared by two prisoner-of-war cooks, one of whom is British (Lance Corporal H——). He stated that the food stuffs supplied to the kitchen were of good quality. We inspected and tested the food prepared for the noon meal. It consisted of a meat and vegetable soup of good flavor.

The British cook stated that the British prisoners of war usually took the noonday meal, but subsisted largely otherwise from the contents of their own packages. A director of the company, who accompanied us on our visit, stated that the cost of food per man was marks 1.65 per day. The men are permitted to use the range to cook the food from their own packages received from home, and hot water for tea is provided.

CANTEEN. The canteen has for sale wine, soft drinks, tobacco, toilet articles, cakes and biscuits.

MAIL AND PARCELS. Both mail and parcels are delivered. The parcels are very much delayed at times in transit from the parent camp.

CLOTHES AND SHOES. All the British have good

clothes, underclothes and shoes, with the exception of seven men from the Royal Warwick Regiment who are in need of the black uniforms for use when not working.

RECREATION. The men have the use of the yard for exercise. They requested a large place for football. A large field next to the works will be assigned to the men in a short time, when the grain has been harvested.

The men have bought a piano, which is placed in Barrack No. 1, and this, together with four other instruments, form a small orchestra.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES. The Roman Catholics are permitted to go to church from time to time. The British have been taken out two or three times to a Union Church (Methodist) where the pastor is able to speak to them in English. The clergyman has visited the men from time to time, but not during the last three months. The request of the men that they be taken to his church from time to time, or, that if he cared to visit the camp, he be permitted to do so, was readily granted.

COMPLAINTS. The only complaint the men had to make, apart from the delay in the parcels, was in reference to the long Sunday shift every second week. This matter was taken up with the inspection for prisoners of war at Munster. It was stated that this was a difficult matter, and the present shift was that of the German workmen in times of peace and at the present time. The inspection would, however, give this matter its at-

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tention and rearrange the time if possible, but did not think much could be done.

COMMENTS. The overcrowding referred to by Mr. Dresel in his report has been largely corrected by a reduction in the number of prisoners of war from 351 to 309. The changes in the barracks suggested by him have already been effected. There is a good spirit between the men, the management and the noncommissioned officer in charge. The attitude of the management, in their care of the men after attention has been called to it, appears to us to be all that can be desired. There is now nothing to complain of in reference to this camp.

Attached to coal mines and often a corporate part of the business corporation were found coke and steel industries. While the same variation obtained as to the housing and treatment of the men, in the majority of cases the treatment was The work was hard and the hours at times good. were long, particularly on the change of shift at the end of the week. Extra compensation was paid to the men who had mastered the technical details of the work. Complaint was made from time to time that munitions were being made in the larger establishment. Only in rare instances were prisoners found who came in direct contact with munition work. As a rule, the British prisoner of war refused to work directly on munitions: for refusal to do this work in some instances the prisoner was punished and in other instances transferred to other work. In one of the munition works inspected a British prisoner was found stamping shell cases; in direct connection with this subject is the manufacture of explosives. British prisoners of war were found assigned to this work in one of the camps inspected.

#### MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIOUS WORK

Prisoners are found at work in practically every variety of industry. They are employed either on the railroad, doing construction work, repairing the road-bed, or in loading or unloading cars; in ordinary road construction work both in and out of the military zone, in brick works, in quarries, in iron and steel factories, in the construction of buildings, in the disposal of garbage and waste, in retail coal yards, etc.

HOUSING. In large industrial plants special barracks have been constructed and during the summer of 1916 the general tendency on the part of the large employer of prison labor and at the instance of the German authorities a tendency was shown to approach a model type of construction with good treatment, plenty of light and ventilation. In near-by plants a rivalry in a camp for prison labor was sometimes shown. In large industrial centers a portion of the factory building was sometimes used, at times ordinary dwelling houses in cities were transformed into barracks. Each prisoner was supplied with a mattress; this might be laid on the floor in a single or double tier bunk or placed on a double tier army cot. Each prisoner was supplied with two blankets. Between the conditions described at Herne and a model camp all grades of good and bad conditions are met with. It might be stated that the arrangement for a poor type of workman might be considered good, but viewed from the standpoint of many of the enlisted men in the new army, both English and Colonials, the average to say the least of it is uncomfortable.

BATHS AND SANITATION IN WORKING CAMPS.

In the larger plants free and full facilities for bathing are offered. In quite a number of the smaller camps no such provision was found. In the summer time, however, opportunity was occasionally offered in the near-by rivers and streams near the camps. Latrines are, as a rule, in the working camps, of simple construction and only rarely, and that in the larger camps, was a flushing system met with. Medical attention is usually provided by the corporation. Large corporations usually had their own physician, smaller corporations consulted a local physician for illness. In many of the prison camps the matter of consulting a physician was left to the guard. While as a rule this worked out satisfactorily, at times it led to grave injustice to the sick men who were neglected by this guard who thought they were malingering. When a prisoner was so ill that he could not work he was returned to the camp hospital for treatment.

FOOD. Except in the agricultural communities the British prisoner depends largely upon his packages received from home. In many of the large working camps the fact that the well-fed prisoner does better work led to an increase in the ordinary prison ration.

Complaints were almost universal as to the quantity and quality of the food served. Apart from the coffee served in the morning and the occasonal pickled fish in the evening, the main meal in the day was in the form of a soup. While the prisoner did not like this and complained about it when at hard work, he partook of it to reenforce his food package. The ration of bread was 300 grammes (about 10 ounces). During the summer of 1915 meat ration was 300 grammes (about 10 ounces). In some of the camps the meat ration was exceeded and was occasionally served as meat instead of in the form of soup.

CLOTHING. Practically all the British prisoners were supplied with clothes from England. The regulations provided that when a prisoner leaves the parent camp he must be supplied with suitable clothing and leather boots, but after the work has begun he must make replacements from his own wages. In rare instances the prisoner was unable to secure leather shoes and was obliged to wear sabots. The working clothes of the prisoner of war are made distinctive by sewing into

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the sleeve of the coat a yellow stripe of canvas about three inches wide and a stripe of equal width into either trouser leg. In addition to this the prisoner's number is often stamped on the coat. This uniform is distinctive and attempts to escape are infrequent. I have known prisoners to successfully escape from a working camp and return safely to the parent camp instead of attempting to leave the country.

COMPENSATION FOR WORK. Compensation is calculated for work by the day; in rare instances by the piece; and in some instances an allotted quantity of work must be finished each day. The rate of pay is determined by contract between the employers and the army corps commanders. The contractor pays to the prisoner one quarter of the fixed wage, the other three quarters are expended for housing, support and guarding. While he is not compelled to supply him with clothes, in some of the mines and large industries working clothes were furnished. If the workman is supposed to equal in his output that of the German workman he is paid a quarter that of the normal wage. If. however, his employer estimates him at only fifty cents, he is paid in this proportion. Inasmuch as it is considered a risk to let a prisoner of war have German money, he is paid in "camp money." This camp money is used not only in the working camps, but also in the parent camps; it is entirely different from the German currency and both paper and iron money are distinctively stamped as

camp money. The usual compensation for farm work was from 16 to 30 pfennigs (3 to 5 cents per day), in the smaller industries from 30 to 50 pfennigs (6 to 10 cents per day); in the larger technical industries 75 pfennigs to 1 mark per day (15 to 20 cents per day). In rare instances skilled men have been paid as high as two and even three marks per day (20 to 75 cents per day).

In agricultural communities where a prisoner is billeted with the farmer, the hours are usually those of the German farmhand. When the prisoner is distributed from the central barrack to farms he works from 6 A. M. to 6 or even 7 P. M., with an intermission for breakfast at eight o'clock, dinner at one and coffee again at four. If the barracks are near the farm he is called at 5 A. M. and if at some distance he may be called even earlier. The hours of labor in an industrial establishment are fairly uniform and are as follows:

From 6 A. M. to 8 A. M.; 8.15 A. M. to 12 noon; 12.30 P. M. to 4 P. M.; 4.15 P. M. to 6 P. M.

While the labor is rarely excessive, as far as we could observe, no attempt was made to select men according to their mental and physical qualifications for the particular work to which they were assigned. While the men in the army are usually physically fit, long periods of incarceration in the prison camps with the nervous stress and worry often led to a lack of physical and nervous tone. Some of the men of lighter build, and those who had been ill often, complained of the

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severity of the work. Usually as a matter of efficiency an employer placed such men on lighter types of work. It will appear as a matter of general efficiency that it would have been much better if some real classification of the prisoner of war had been attempted, and work assigned as to training and general qualifications.

In the Westphalia district much complaint was heard as to the British prisoner as a workman. He did not work willingly; he gave much trouble, and was generally disliked. Some of the commandants stated that some of the factory employers would not accept the British prisoners as workmen, and had distinctly specified that they would accept only French, Russian, or Belgians. They also, as indeed did the employer, consider the French prisoners as the most desirable workmen for machine work and the Russians for agricultural work. The British prisoner, however, was acceptable on the farms and worked there willingly and effectively. If we inquire into the reasons for this we will find that the British prisoner had much on his side of the argument. A consideration of this entails a consideration of the problems of the inspection of working camps.

# CHAPTER XI

#### THE PROBLEM INVOLVED IN THE INSPECTION OF WORKING CAMPS

WHILE the prisoner of war was confined in large concentration parent camps, the problem was in the main sense a military one and conditions could be treated from a military standpoint and the inspection considered largely as a military one. When evils were to be corrected, we dealt either with the military authorities, or if this failed, by direct negotiations, through the foreign office with the Central Ministry of War.

When the large majority of prisoners were transferred to working camps, entirely new problems were presented. While the problem was still a military problem in theory, as a matter of practice it was converted into a sociological and social service problem. The Government, in hiring out the prisoner to an industrial corporation, while theoretically contracting only for a disposition of labor, created new conditions involving the health, the housing and the rights of the prisoner in reference to humane treatment, recreation, religion, etc. In theory these matters still remained under the military authorities as represented by the

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noncommissioned officer or enlisted German guard. It was too much, however, to expect that a simple soldier would not be influenced, even dominated, and indeed his authority superseded, by the civilian employer of prison labor. In the early days of the working camp problem it became evident in certain districts the employers had reached an agreement to resist inspection and to limit it as far as possible. Their attitude was antagonistic: it was only after much trouble in such districts that any sort of inspection was permitted. At this time the rules governing the inspection of the working camps were the same as those for parent camps embodied in the official permission granted by the various provincial war ministries. Under this permission a fully complete inspection pertaining to the housing, the health, conditions of work, etc., were covered. In the inspection of the working camps near Wittenberg it was not only evident that the employers of prison labor were in agreement amongst themselves to resist inspection, but there was also some evidence that this was supported by the military authorities. As the summer of 1916 advanced and following the inspection of working camp conditions in the congested manufacturing districts in Westphalia definite restrictions were placed upon the extent to which an inspection could be carried. Large coal and steel barons working in this district and having the political and financial influence of the Scha Verband eventually forced the military authorities and the Government into a position which was as unfair from a military standpoint as it was to the prisoner of war. They held as justification for this that if a full inspection were permitted that certain trade secrets might be revealed to those whose duty it was to make the inspection. While this might be true in a few industries, it is difficult to see what secrets could be revealed by the inspection of the barracks where coal miners were housed or even in the mines themselves. The Ministry of War ruled that these camps could only be inspected after previous notice, and divided the working camps into four groups as follows:

A. Those in which a full inspection, including the place of work, would be permitted.

B. Where the barracks alone could be inspected.

C. Where the men could be communicated with outside of the premises, but where the inspectors would not be permitted to see either the place of work or the barracks.

D. Where no inspection at all was permitted.

In the Westphalia district, as indeed elsewhere in Germany, practically all places, with the exception of the agricultural industries, were placed under B, C, or D. It was perfectly evident after an investigation that the manufacturers themselves had designated their own industries under these various classes and that the military authorities had accepted this without question or investigation.

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This apparently made the matter of inspection of working camps a farce. In the Westphalia district we were not even permitted to speak to the men except in the presence of their civilian employers. If, therefore, one could not inspect the nature of the work, could not see the barracks in which they were housed, could not inspect the sanitary arrangements, the food, etc., and could not interview the prisoner of war except in the presence of the civilian employer and the guard, who practically had the power of life and death over the men, what possible good could be obtained from the difficult and disagreeable work of inspection. Notice was served, however, on the army corps command that under these circumstances the statement of the prisoner of war must be accepted by the Embassy as a correct and truthful report as to the above conditions and would be so included in the official report upon the subject. Even before the above regulations were put in force Mr. Dresel, working in the Westphalia district, had given such offense by taking affidavits of the prisoners of war as to conditions in places that he was not permitted to visit, that the army corps command refused to have him make any more inspections in this district and this position was supported by the Ministry of War. It was found as a matter of practical experience by Dr. Taylor and myself in the inspection work in this district and elsewhere that all these difficulties could be surmounted and good results obtained by keeping

strictly to a military method of procedure. On a reinspection tour of the Westphalia district we requested that a staff officer from the army corps command be assigned with us for a joint inspection. This officer proved to be as anxious to improve conditions as were we. He soon realized that the survey was a matter of scientific procedure, that our attitude was fair and without bias. In working camps which might be classed under B or C or D, and where it was perfectly evident from the attitude of the employer, the guard, the surroundings, and the complaints of the prisoner of war. the conditions were not as they should be, he himself ordered, upon our request, full liberty of inspection. Even in working camps classed under B and C where conditions were good proprietors themselves without question threw their whole plant open to full inspection. It became perfectly evident, therefore, not only to us, but to the German staff officer that in cases where the employers stood rigidly upon their classification that there was very good ground to believe that they had something to hide. This method had the further advantage that the representative from the army corps command could be shown conditions as we saw them and could order the correction of evils on the spot. He soon realized that it would be just as unfair to the employer and the military to take the statement of the prisoner of war without an investigation, as it was to the inspection and to the prisoner of war to forego

such an inspection. A fair and reasonable attitude towards conditions as they existed was here met with an equally fair and reasonable attitude towards the correction of them. While the report of some of the matters complained of were immediately controlled by their own experts, upon the final interview with the general in charge of the prisoners of war at the army corps headquarters the conditions as reported upon were admitted and methods of relief and correction agreed upon. The essentials for handling of such a complex problem are:

A. An expert knowledge of the fundamental principles involved, equal to that of the German staff experts.

B. A knowledge of the military factors involved.

C. Ability to have the German military man see the problem as it is presented to the neutral observer viewing it as a scientific and not a political problem. To have one's work investigated by a German expert and found wanting would naturally mean failure to secure results not only at this time but in subsequent inspections. If to this be added the knowledge that the inspectors were men educated and trained in German Universities and knew what German science in times of peace could and would not stand for, much would be added to the value of their opinions and protest.

It soon became evident that the great problem of the working camp inspection was its size. In the

6th army corps alone there were 18,000 working camps and of this 3,000 included British prisoners of war and probably an equal number of Servian prisoners; in this district, therefore, working at the rate of eight working camps a day, it would take one group of inspectors a year to cover the field for a single inspection. This would leave no time for follow-up inspections or for the solving of particular problems. One would not consider the inspection of parent camps, officers' camps, hospitals, insane asylums and jails in the same district. While one visit a year would be sufficient for the agricultural country, in the manufacturing districts a periodic survey at intervals of every three or four months could be made. This would not be necessary if the military authorities permitted free communication with the Embassy by the prisoners, or had even permitted a monthly report from the noncommissioned officers to the Embassy, and if in addition to this, they would be willing to report deaths by violence on the part of the guard and court martials against prisoners of war where extended sentence of jail imprisonment were asked for. Inasmuch as all of these matters were refused and were only discovered accidentally on routine inspection the necessity for constant contact with the prisoners in the working camps became evident. The only way the field could be approximately covered was by well organized method of inspection. This was finely worked out as follows: Eight inspectors

were assigned to this work, two to six, they were to work in pairs; each group was to have headquarters in one of the congested areas instead of In this way they would be in close in Berlin. touch with the working camps and also with the army corps headquarters. Inspection was to be routine every four months. The inspectors were to report to the secretary of the Embassy, whose duty it would be to organize and make this work He would have the assistance of a effective. trained man to compile records, file and transmit This scheme was only partially worked reports. out when diplomatic relations were broken.

On account of the restrictions imposed upon the inspection of working camps cooperation with the German authorities was to be secured and a joint inspection made with an officer assigned from the headquarters, whenever possible.

Inasmuch as the use of the prisoner of war for work on such a tremendous scale had never before been presented as a problem, many of the difficulties encountered were due to a lack of understanding on both sides as to rules and methods of procedure. The German authorities, standing on The Hague Convention and treating the prisoner of war as a trained soldier, ordered him to work and expected him to obey without question. They did not take into consideration his status as a prisoner and as a human being; his previous training, his mental attitude both towards work and towards the effect that this might have in aiding the



Prisoners employed at shoemaking

enemy. As a human being he often reserved the right of demand as to what work he was to be assigned, and sometimes refuses to work unless he was so told. He complained bitterly that at times he was promised certain kinds of work and then compelled to do work of an entirely different nature. Under such circumstances he sometimes refused, thereby coming in conflict with his captors. As a human being he also demanded reasonable living quarters and sufficient food upon which to do the work assigned to him. When conditions were unbearable he demanded the right to communicate with his commandant of the parent camps. This was practically always refused him and often led, as above stated, to an accusation of refusing to work or of conspiracy leading to a court martial.

The mental attitude towards work in general. From the military standpoint the prisoner had no right to select or even inquire as to the nature of the work to which he was to be assigned. It would be subversive of military discipline to permit him to appeal to the commandant or other officers of the camp. All reports would have to come through his guard. The only possible hope, therefore, would be for an accidental inspection on the part of the Embassy. When such prisoners, however, returned to camp, their report of unfavorable conditions led to a resistant attitude on the part of the other prisoners to going to such camps. Members of the expeditionary force, soldiers by profession, did not take kindly to any work that was not purely military. The volunteer soldier of Kitchener's army was not only averse to work but rather favorably inclined to it, if conditions were good.

While in many camps prisoners showed a surprisingly intimate knowledge with the provisions of The Hague Convention, there was, nevertheless, a widespread impression that they could not be forced to work against their will. There was, of course, no ground for such a belief. It was also a widespread impression, even conviction, that the British Government did not desire them to work on the grounds that the results of their work would be of benefit to the enemy. The only possible basis for this was the statement published in the White Papers (No. 11, 1915), in reply to a request from several British soldiers interned at Doberitz as to whether they might volunteer to work on farms; Sir Edward Grey replied that "his Majesty's Government did not wish them to work in the manner referred to." This naturally refers to the matter of volunteering for work and not of being ordered to work. It was, however, widely transmitted amongst the prisoners and was either understood or at least taken as an indication of the Home Government. It was further elaborated into an attitude of refusal to do any work that would aid the enemy's army. The prisoner repeatedly refused to work directly on munitions, and while this was sometimes met with punishment, the attitude of the prisoner of war was usually respected and he was transferred to other work. It was a matter of much contention as to what were military operations. That the canning of foods could not be so included is evident; the inspection, however, took the position that working in Zeppelin-sheds should be so included.

A complaint of a working camp at Alhorn for the construction of a Zeppelin shed was made by Corporal R----, Gordon Highlanders, Corporal W-, E. O. R., Private F-, Gordon Highlanders, Private F----, Middlesex Regiment, Private M-----, Munster Fusiliers, Private E-----, A. 0. O., who were in prison barracks at the time of inspection. They had been assigned to work on a Zeppelin hangar, in process of construction. They refused to work on the grounds that it was a military operation according to The Hague Convention, and they demanded that they be permitted to see the commandant of the parent camp at Celle in order to file a protest. They were returned to this camp, tried and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. The case was retried and on a second appeal it was taken to the higher court in Berlin, where a new trial at Hanover was ordered for July 4. A sentence of twelve months was again imposed, another appeal was filed, and all the men are in the prison barracks at this camp until the case is finally settled.

The only possible attitude that the Embassy could take in such matters was that inasmuch as

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the prisoner of war was still a soldier and a part of the military problem he was to take orders without question, but that he was not expected to work on military operations or on munitions. If conditions were unjust he had the right to communicate with the Embassy, who would then take up the matter and see that justice was done. This naturally assumed the right of free communication with the Embassy, which as stated before, did not obtain and for which principle we were contending. Assuming a routine inspection of the camps. it was still good advice to give to the prisoner of war as repeated inspection revealed untoward conditions or unjust employment and also by telling whether the right of communication with the Embassy would be respected.

The noncommissioned officers when in charge of men always took a sane and sensible view of the situation and did all in their power to prevent the men from quitting work arbitrarily. The resistant fighting attitude of the British prisoner at times led him to refuse to work on insufficient grounds and sometimes a single prisoner would disturb the entire morale of an entire working camp by such an attitude, to which was added senseless faultfinding and refusal to take orders from his own noncommissioned officer. Even when requests were made to have such men removed to the parent camp, this was always refused until some disturbance occurred which brought hardship and punishment not only on the offender, but on other members of the working camp as well. The unfortunate result not only here but in parent camps of adventuresome individuals who were courting trouble was that he not only got what he was looking for, but included other innocent individuals in the ceremony.

When a prisoner assigned to a working camp definitely refused to work, he was punished in one way or another. We have already seen that at Scheidenmuhl the guard took upon himself the right to inflict punishment. The usual rule, however, was to return the prisoner to the parent camp with the report from the guard of the working camp. The action taken by the commandant varied in the different camps. As a rule the prisoner was tried by court martial and if found guilty was sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in a military jail. When a number of prisoners refused to work a charge of conspiracy was lodged against them. Not infrequently such trouble developed in working camps and in such circumstances the prosecution demanded long terms of imprisonment which might vary from five to twenty years. In some cases capital punishment was demanded, but as far as any one in the Embassy knew this was never carried into effect.

In other camps the commandant took a much milder action in cases of refusal to work; this might mean in some cases confinement to barracks, deprivation of certain camp liberties and privileges and moral suasion. In practically all the camps punishment barracks were instituted. Punishment barracks, as differentiated from the camp jail, was an isolated barrack without bunks or bedding or sanitary arrangements in which the prisoner was placed and to which he was confined for periods of time varying from one month or longer. In some of the camps he was not permitted blankets and was compelled to sleep on the bare floor in his clothes. He was, as a rule, not permitted to have his food packages from home and while in the punishment barracks was compelled to live on the camp food. The barrack was guarded by one or two sentries, with fixed bayonets. The prisoner was taken outside of the barracks for one hour during the day for drill exercises. These punishment barracks were used for disciplinary punishment not only in connection with refusal to work, but for other infractions of discipline. Prisoners under arrest were also confined here, at times, awaiting trial. Usually, however, such prisoners were confined in the camp jail. In some camps the commandant would confine men who would refuse to work in the camp jail. Here the confinement was solitary, in small cells four by seven feet with a slant flue which gave ventilation but practically no light; the prisoner was compelled to sleep upon bare boards, although in some of the camps mattresses were provided. He was, as a rule, without blankets and without food packages. He was exercised in the compounds surrounding the jail from one half to one hour during the day by the guard. The diet in the jail was bread and water for three days with the camp ration on the fourth day, followed by a second period of three days with the bread and water diet. After imprisonment in the jail for one or two weeks the prisoner would be returned to the working camp and if he still refused to work he was returned to the jail for a longer period of time, or was court martialed. When such court martials were held the evidence against the prisoner was supplied by the guard and his civilian employer.

The civilian employer was frequently himself a problem to the inspection. He not only would come in conflict with the prisoners directly, creating trouble by the bullying and nagging attitude, but often interfered with the guard in his control of the men. In one of these cases in the Wittenberg district the employers of prison labor had banded together and appointed one man in charge of the prisoners and their work. In his efforts to be efficient he created much resentment and ill feeling on the part of the prisoners. He gave the order to the guard to punish the prisoners by whipping them and abusing with their weapons and went so far as to refuse inspection and free communication with the prisoner at a time before the rules of limiting the inspection were in force. The guards of the prison camp, who were disposed to right action, were often interfered with and forced into uncomfortable situations by these men. The guard of the working camp might be a single soldier or this might be increased to ten or fifteen. When the guard consisted of several men, a noncommissioned officer was placed in charge. The guards in the smaller camps were usually members of the Landstrum. They were men beyond the age of active service withdrawn from their usual work for this duty. They were as a rule kind and considerate and disposed to make the prisoner comfortable unless interfered with from outside sources. They had, however, a strict sense of duty and of discipline and were disposed to obey the regulations against intercourse with the prisoners except in relation to the business at hand.

In the larger camps the guard was composed of younger men in active service and assigned to this duty for various physical reasons, such as slight wounds, lowered vitality, etc. In the larger camps a harsher and less sympathetic attitude was the rule. Where the housing and general sanitary conditions were unfavorable, the relations between the guard and the men were usually strained and at the breaking point. This was due quite as much to the prisoner of war as to the guard. The bad hygienic surroundings and the bad food, the constant drive of work, the lack of recreation, brutalized the men to such a degree that they were difficult to deal with and hard to manage. Too much liberty was unquestionably given to the guard in handling such situations.

In one of the working camps an order for the guard was found posted in the guard barracks to the effect that a "Notice is hereby given that on refusal to work the guard is directed, in the future. if occasion arises, to make use of their bayonets." It is presumed that this same order was posted at the other working camps in this army corps. With an irascible hot tempered guard in charge of prisoners whose nervous system is under serious stress the possibilities for serious trouble could easily arise from the liberty of action implied in this action. It was as a result of such a conflict that in the investigation the guard showed us the above order as justification for his action. In this same army corps was posted in working camps a printed notice quoting The Hague Convention in reference to work and adding thereto a statement that in one of the working camps three Russians were shot by the guard as a result of trouble arising from their refusal to work. While the commandants at the prison camps denied the right of the guard to use his weapon, the order, issued and quoted above for the use of the guard and not to be read by the prisoner, was his justification and defense for any action that the guard might take.

In all this matter a most complex problem was the fixing of responsibility for the life and health and the care of the prisoner of war. According to The Hague Convention, the Central Government was responsible for all these matters. With

division of authority, the Provincial governments could deny responsibility if it were shifted to them. The army corps command was, however, in the direct line of responsibility and in command of the guard in the working camp. While the commandant was held to account and an explanation demanded for occurrences in the working camps, he almost invariably was without information, and inasmuch as matters could not be investigated on the spot the most that could be done was to promise an investigation. Unless a follow-up visit was made to such camps nothing further was heard of such complaints. In serious matters, such as the killing of the Irish prisoners at Limburg, the Central Government referred the matter to the army corps and the army corps blocked any further investigation by its own court martial, the report of which could be delayed as long as was convenient for the army corps command.

Mention has already been made of the noncommissioned officer in reference to work. While the noncommissioned officer was not excepted from work in The Hague Convention the government authorities included him in this exemption because he was not expected to work in the British camps. At first in the larger working camps a noncommissioned officer was assigned in a supervisory capacity. Later in some working camps this was extended so that he became in one sense of the term a military foreman. As the need for men in the German industries grew, an effort was made

to induce these men to volunteer for work. While quite a few did volunteer, a large number declined. By this time the noncommissioned officer looked upon his exemption from work as a definite right and not as courtesy extended. Whether the German Government wished these men to work on account of the need of men or because the feeding, housing, and guarding problem was simplified by depopulating the prison camps and sending them to working camps, they were unwilling to violate the principle of exemption of the noncommissioned officer from work. This led them to employ various means of pressure of forcing them to volunteer for work which did not differ in form or method from the punishment of the enlisted man who refused to work. In some of the camps their liberties were restricted: they were refused permission to attend the camp theater, take part in any athletic sports and were compelled to go through long drills in wooden sabots. The excuse for this in the Minden camp was, "in order to teach these British noncommissioned officers military form, how to salute and respect their superior officers." The unconscious humor of this was lost quite as much on the German military authorities as it was upon the warrant and noncommissioned officers of the British army. Even the confinement in the camp at Minden did not force these under officers from their position. Had the German authorities honestly abrogated their tacit agreement and issued an order that all noncommissioned officers would be compelled to work, little difficulty would have been encountered with men who were the flower of the enlisted force. good soldiers, accustomed to receiving military orders and obeying them implicitly. When assigned to command duty in the prison camps they did their duty faithfully and worked both for the good of their men and of the camp. They would have done equally good work in the working camps had a proper and honest spirit been exhibited. a few camps the noncommissioned officer came in conflict with the German authorities for refusing to order the men to working camps when the German noncommissioned officer had failed. In some camps this was distinctly the fault of the noncommissioned officer, but in most cases it was due to the fact that the German camp authorities had not previously delegated any authority to the British noncommissioned officer over his men and when the time came for asking him to enforce such authority the men did not willingly respond.

The sergeant major, the sergeant and the corporal were included in the groups theoretically exempted from work. The lance corporal was not so included. In the working camps the lance corporal was frequently found at work and appeals to be removed to the parent camps were not considered. This was frequently true also of the corporal. Upon direct request of the inspection, sergeants were usually exempted from work when found in working camps. The competent and efficient noncommissioned officer working day in and out for the good of his men in parent camps and in working camps was one of the best factors for good in the whole prisoner of war situation. Good noncommissioned officers with unsympathetic commandants made conditions distinctly more bearable and livable than they otherwise would have been.

On the whole the effect of work on the prisoner of war was for good. Conditions for the great majority of prisoners were reasonably good, and the prisoner both mentally, morally and physically better for having some purposive work to do. Evils that grew out of the peonage system would have been corrected in time by the routine frequently repeated inspection, by neutral embassies, and the desire on the part of the military authorities to be relieved of the criticism and the trouble which protests from these sources would involve. The eventual realization, as above stated, that as an economic proposition well-fed and well-treated prisoners gave better working returns naturally tends in the same direction. The serious problem of mental depression and one of its most important underlying causes. i.e., the uncertainty of the time of imprisonment, was very markedly relieved by congenial occupation. If the work for the prisoner of war could be confined to work on the farms, this would have solved all the difficulties and all the problems of the prisoner of war. This was fully realized by

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the prisoners in the camp at Minden. Some twenty-five Servian noncommissioned officers who had resisted all efforts on the part of the German authorities to induce them to volunteer for work, promptly agreed to work on farms if this type of work could be assured to them. The military authorities promptly agreed to this proposition when I presented it to them and the matter was then and there settled.

# CHAPTER XII

#### CAMPS FOR OFFICERS

U<sup>P</sup> to August 1, 1916, there were 16,569 officer prisoners of war. They were distributed in forty six camps. It may be stated in a general way that the German Government has met this problem in a complete and satisfactory manner. With one or two exceptions all of these camps are now satisfactory and, considering conditions, no reasonable complaint can be found. Fortresses, sanatoria, newly constructed high-school buildings, hotels, modern barrack buildings and vacated factory buildings have all been utilized for officers' quarters.

All these buildings, with the exception of the camp at Magdeburg and Ingaldstadt, were unobjectionable from a hygienic standpoint. In all the other camps inspected, with the exception of these two, the buildings were rather modern. The older buildings, such as those at Villingen or the forts at Torgau, were remodeled and changes effected to make them comfortable and satisfactory. The officers' camp at Ingaldstadt is located in a ring of forts surrounding the town. These forts are built of brick. The officers were housed in the cagemates; their quarters were poorly lighted and damp and had a gloomy, cheerless, depressing atmosphere. During the summer months these conditions are not so objectionable. During the long winter months they are unsuitable for housing officers.

The camp at Magdeburg was located in a vacated warehouse in the city of Magdeburg. The large rooms in which officers were housed were not any better than the barracks for enlisted men. The officers, many of them older men, were housed in the large factory rooms, as a barrack room, without any semblance of privacy. These long rooms could not be made to appear clean, and the whole building presented a sordid, unkempt appearance. There was insufficient light and ventilation, the sanitary conditions were bad, the location of the building and the arrangement of the water supply did not permit of modern plumbing or a flushing system of sewerage. Space for exercise was very limited. The officers looked upon this camp as a punishment camp. They were sent here for a complaining attitude in other camps, a lack of cooperation with the commandant, or for insubordination.

All the other camps were located in hygienic surroundings and were so constructed or altered that the officers were housed in small rooms. Sufficient space was set aside in practically all the camps for field sports and recreation. As a rule, even in the camps filled to capacity, ten to twelve officers were the greatest number assigned to a room and even if a greater number was sometimes housed together at Torgau, partitions were erected by the officers to secure privacy. The senior officers with the rank of colonel and general were usually given two rooms and a prisoner of war orderly was detailed for their service. The rooms were furnished simply and as a rule with sufficient furniture to make them comfortable; iron cots with springs or mattresses filled either with straw or sea grass; bed linen, pillows, blankets, etc., and a locker or wardrobe were supplied.

Bathing facilities in the form of both showers and tubs with hot and cold water sufficient for the needs of the officers was supplied in all the camps. Hot water was supplied in a good many of the camps at certain hours of the day and sometimes only certain days of the week. In many of the officers' camps bathing was obligatory and a list was kept in order that this rule should be obeyed. Arrangements were made either in the camp or in a near-by barrack for sterilization of clothing when this was considered necessary.

The arrangement for food was placed in the hands of a committee composed of officers. A French, a British and a Russian officer were on this committee. They arranged their own menus and the food was purchased by a German purchasing agent who endeavored to secure the necessary food requested by this committee within the limits of the markets and the food regulations. The food was cooked by German cooks (male or female) or by French prisoners of war. The food was served in dining-rooms which were as a rule comfortable and cheerful. Enlisted prisoners of war acting as orderlies served in the dining-room. The officers paid for their own food, the cost averaging one and a half marks per day. In some of the camps all officers were obliged to pay for the midday meal at the cost of thirty-two marks per month; they might share in the other two meals or use their food packages as they preferred. The facilities for cooking the food from the food packages was furnished in the kitchens, if it did not interfere with the preparation of the camp food. This same committee had charge of the canteens where toilet articles, cigars, cigarettes, writing materials, beer and light wines might be purchased. The profits from the canteen were devoted to camp expenses, such as making of tennis courts, etc., cinematograph exhibitions, orchestra, theatricals. etc.

An officer who was taken prisoner of war might therefore find himself in a modern well-equipped hotel, in a sanatarium building, an officer barrack, or the more romantic, if less comfortable atmosphere, of a German fortress guarding a strategic point along the inland waterways of Germany. If he were interned at the fort at Torgau he would find himself assigned to quarters with other officers in the main fortress building in one of the small rooms along the galleries. He would be welcomed by his brother officers, not for himself so much as for what news he might bring from the outside world or a change of personality from those who were already wearing on each other.

In the early months of the war the transportation of officers from the front was often disagreeable in the extreme. The experience of Major V----- was not unique. Many officers made complaint of a similar nature. Probably the worst experience of most of the officers was in being made a prisoner. As a rule they would have prefered almost any other fate. To be taken a prisoner, to be removed from the conflict, to be at the mercy of their enemies for an indefinite period of time, it was indeed for them, as they approached the forbidding aspect of some fortress, an "abandonment of hope." Where the gates had no such legend inscribed thereon, it needed none such for the weary, battle-stained, travel-worn pilgrim in the khaki uniform.

The grim exterior of the fortress was indeed the worst feature about it. After the guard had saluted and the gates had clanged after him the picture was very different from anything he had anticipated.

Looking out from his gallery chamber a strange and unique picture greeted him. French, and Belgian, and Russian, and British officers promenading across the large quadrangle in the bright sunshine gave a glow of color such as only the highly colored uniforms of the different military ranks can give to such a picture. A tennis tournament is on at the courts and French and English, arrayed in flannels, perhaps, are vying for the mastery with a distinguished and numerous gallery excited and applauding and as interested evidently as if they were at a similar function at home. Some field sports are on in another portion of the field, or it may be that football or even cricket may be on for that particular day.

He would find the atmosphere of the camp relatively cheerful as compared with the enlisted men's camp. The older officers in the meantime are engaged in some studious occupation, and the more serious minded of the younger officers in language classes or classes for mental occupation and education; the younger officers not engaged in athletics for the most part lounging in their rooms not unlike men in college dormitories.

He would find that in two or three days in the week, groups of officers (50 or 60) each officer in his turn would be permitted to take a tramp in the surrounding country accompanied by one of the German officers. Some eight or ten different trips had been arranged, each one of which afforded some new interest and relieved the monotony of the same walk.

The time arranged for the officers' walk was usually in the afternoon. No complaint was made as to the attitude of the German population. The officer assigned, however, to accompany the interned officers was ostensibly to prevent any hostile manifestations, and not as a guard; at least this was the explanation given. These walks were taken in the country and not in congested districts. This is in contrast with the opportunity for the officers in one of the officer's camps in England, where the German officers could only be permitted to take walks in the very early morning on account of the hostile attitude of the British population.

The midday meal at Torgau was prepared by French cooks under the direction of an officer, a captain in the French service. While not sumptuous meals, they were, nevertheless, not objectionable and might be better than the field food to which he had been accustomed at the front. While the meals from day to day might lack variety, if he would quarrel with their preparation he must quarrel with a cook or chef of his own selection.

When taps are sounded and he has "turned in," the officer of the day makes his inspection in order to see that the prisoners are all in bed and accounted for. He is allowed to sleep later in the morning than the enlisted men; he faces a roll call at 8 A. M., after which he has breakfast at 8.15 and then is free for the rest of the day until evening roll call at 9.30 P. M. for study, for some outdoor sport, for theatricals or to sit and brood or plan an escape.

All officers plan an escape. In order to avoid this the German authorities require officers permitted to take walks in the surrounding country to be photographed, and to give their parole. At first the British officers refused to do this, but on the assurance that there was no reflection on their honor as officers, it was later agreed to.

With such treatment and such liberty there should be, one would think, little complaint, as indeed there was but little. Some of the officers. however, requested that they be given the liberty of the towns on parole as in previous wars. With the intense feeling aroused by the present war it would take but little to start serious trouble if such requests were granted. An officer prisoner is permitted to write one letter and one post card per week and to receive all the communications addressed to him; both incoming and outgoing mail are strictly censored: this is true also of the food packages and books received from the home country. Newspapers in English are not permitted and the same complaint as to this and the lack of news was registered in the officers' camps both in Germany and in England. German papers are permitted. An irascible German officer in a prison camp in England demanded that he should be permitted the German papers in order that "he might keep in touch with the spiritual life of the Fatherland." The British officer was more practical and wanted to keep in touch with a thin khaki-colored line in Northern France. In all the camps for officers a sufficient number of enlisted men of their own nationality are assigned as orderlies to care for their rooms, to serve their

food, etc. This number varied in the different camps.

As in the camps for enlisted men, the atmosphere of the camp was largely determined by the commandant and his staff. Commandants of the officers' camps are usually officers of middle age, placed on this duty from the reserve or retired lists. They are assisted by a staff of commissioned and noncommissioned officers. There is a guard of usually one tenth the number of officers; this guard is as a rule quartered outside of the camp, but is sometimes found quartered within the confines of the camp. In most of the camps the commandant was found to be in sympathetic touch with the interned officers. The interned officers were divided into companies and battalions. Companies are subdivided into squads, the squad leaders being the senior officers interned, the higher ranks excepted. Squads are always in charge of officers of the same nationality. The officers of highest rank of the various nationalities interned are responsible for the conduct and discipline of the officers under them and act as their spokesman in all communications, requests and protests to the commandant of the camp.

Officers are well supplied with money; they are paid by the German authorities or receive money from home. Officers junior to the rank of captain are paid at the rate of sixty marks per month, from captain up to and including colonels the pay is as high as one hundred marks per month.

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Money orders received from England through Holland are exchanged in the camps at the rate of 20.42 marks to the pound sterling. Much complaint was made at this rate of exchange. Actual German or foreign currency is not permitted in the camp; either camp money or a checking system is used. The officer must pay for his food. his clothes, his laundry and for necessary repairs. He is compelled to wear his uniform at all times except when he is participating in sports, when the usual flannels are permitted. The attitude of the German officers was as a rule more sympathetic toward the British officer than otherwise. He was always a gentleman, respected regulations and insisted on the respect due him as an officer. His fondness for out-of-door sports kept him in good physical condition, relieved the monotony and tedium of the endless waiting and kept him in a much better mental condition than the French or Ger-The Russian officer was unpopular man officers. for many reasons. His frequent attempts at escape brought him in conflict with the camp authorities. While the other officers often made attempts to escape, they were not so persistent as the Rus-The British officers are least addicted to sians. this habit.

This was quite unnecessary, as attempts at escape were not made during these walks. Usually the idea of escape was a natural reaction of the mind of an adventuresome individual to confinement. It might almost be said to be at times a mass reaction. When human beings are confined, the first idea is the possibility of escape from the cage. The camps are so well guarded that attempts through the barbed wire were usually doomed to failure. Bribing of the guard was a possibility, but it was rarely tried. The next mental reaction to confinement was to burrow. In the sand country where tunneling was not difficult, it was frequently tried. In one of the camps it became epidemic and gave the authorities more concern than other and more serious disease epidemics. The whole camp was tunneled, the tunnels not infrequently ran into each other. The German guards would let the prisoners amuse themselves and then "detect" them at the proper moment and gain much credit thereby from the commandant. The day of my visit to this camp, one of the officers, evidently an engineer, surprised them by his speed and escaped. The guard was so confounded that he raised a general alarm; the commandant called the guards to emergency stations and turned the machine guns on the camp. The action of the German officers in their excitement precipitated a riot amongst the excited prisoners, and serious consequences were only narrowly averted. The guard was too small for the six hundred officers. If, as one of the men stated, a shot had been fired the excited prisoners would have killed the guard with chairs or their bare hands, and "we would have all been lined up and shot." This officer begged me to have the

guard increased to save the men from their own folly and that of the commandant, should such an occurrence be repeated, which we thought likely.

This camp was filled with adventuresome spirits who refused to be confined and who made the life of the commandant miserable.

The tunnel was usually started from the floor of a barrack. This gave privacy and a place to store the excavated material. In the camp above referred to some of the tunnels were so long and the heat so intense that an apparatus was rigged up to pump air into the tunnel.

At one camp for officers, located in a recently erected sanatarium, an officer who had assisted as a consulting engineer in the planning of the institution, and after returning to his country, enlisted and was taken prisoner, had evidently all the plans of pipes, etc., in his mind. All the tunnels planned followed the water, gas or sewerage directions to freedom.

When a tunnel was discovered the officer was permitted to work up to the point of danger; he was usually met with a smile by the guard as he returned from his burrow. In the camp at Gutersloh the smile was not used to any great extent. When, therefore, three innocent looking Russian officers emerged from their nocturnal retreat the guard, using his musket as a bludgeon, beat them successively and successfully over the head as each one emerged from the tunnel, into a condition of insensibility. The condition of all three was serious when I visited the camp a few days later. We must assume that such an act, not condemned by the commandant, must have met with his approval. Such occurrences were, however, rare. As a rule attempts at escape were treated with surprising leniency.

The punishment for attempting to escape varies in the different army corps. In most of the army corps it is relatively slight; a period of two weeks of solitary confinement with a withdrawal of certain camp privileges for a given period of time. In the fourth army corps (Magdeburg) punishment is more severe and longer, ranging from three months to a year. In one instance where the latter punishment was inflicted the accusation was made that some of the furniture had been broken in the attempt to escape. For serious offences court martials were ordered. These may be ordered from the army headquarters or from the war ministry.

The same rule was made in regard to mixing nationalities in the camps for officers as in those of enlisted men. While in some of the camps officers of different nationalities were quartered together in the same rooms, as a rule the British officers were housed separately. This was true also of the French and Russian officers.

Wounded officers were transported in hospital trains and were treated either in the general hospitals assigned for the treatment of wounded prisoners or in smaller general hospitals. They

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were assigned in groups to wards or rooms by themselves; in some instances wounded German officers were quartered with them. They were given the same care and treatment as the German officers. A wounded officer was sometimes found in the infirmary attached to the officers' camp.

In meeting the problem of the officer prisoner of war, considering many difficulties in the way, but few complaints can be found and in a general way the whole system deserves praise. If the same spirit had been shown towards the problem of the enlisted men and civilians interned there would be much less ground for complaint than is here recorded. With the exception of Magdeburg, a punishment camp, the forts at Ingaldstadt, and the camp at Wurtsburg, during the first year of the war all the other camps were more than satisfactory.

# CHAPTER XIII

### CAMPS FOR CIVILIANS INTERNED

▲ PPROXIMATELY 45,000 civilians were interned in Germany shortly after the outbreak of the war. Of these, 4,000 were interned in one camp at Ruhleben in the suburbs of Berlin. Eventually practically all the interned civilians in Germany were interned at this camp; a few remained in the parent camps by preference. Thirty were interned at the castle Schloss Celle and a few women from time to time in the camp at Holzminden. The concentration of practically all the British in one camp near Berlin made the problem of inspection and control relatively easy. Some truth and not a little poetry has been written about this camp. Within a relatively short time after the declaration of war, all British males found in Germany and all those later taken prisoners on ships were interned here.

It may or may not have been intentional—the refined cruelty of a practical joke—that all these British, so fond on their native heath of horse racing, should be interned on a race track which, from that moment on, never saw a horse. The buildings natural to a race course, the grand stand, the stables, tribune, the casino, were all used for housing or ministering to the wants of the prisoner. The housing was difficult and the wants were many; the housing problem at first difficult was later partially solved by the erection of additional barracks built of wood and covered with tar-paper. Previous to this men were housed and indeed are still housed in the stalls used for horses.

It was a different crowd to which this race course was accustomed in the heyday of its glory who assembled there in August of 1914. Men from all walks of life and all climes, men of all professions, after days of hardship and uncertainty were here assembled for the "two or three months" that the war was to last. The British tourist from some German cure or summer resort. the music student or teacher from Munich or Berlin; the successful business man, banker, broker. merchant, professional men, all slept in the same horse stalls, marched in barrack line to the same kitchen for food in company with some two hundred and fifty negroes from the China coast, the Strait Settlements or South Africa, with sailors and fishermen from Grunsby, stokers from some tramp merchantman and. *mirable dictu*. several hundred British Germans, most of whom could not speak a word of English. From time to time was added to this motley and mixed aggregation of human beings the haul of the Moewe, and other raid-Cabin boys, callow youth, men of forty, and ers. old feeble men tottering to the grave, came and



went and wondered how long the war would last or how soon the always prospective exchange of civilians would take place. As one walks through the camp at Ruhleben today there is not the depression of the prison camp but the rather strained atmosphere of some 5,000 men trying to escape a melting pot which could make of this motley aggregation of various castes simple Englishmen.

Youth in its elasticity dons its flannels and sallies forth to play golf or tennis in much the same fashion it would at home. The man of forty, moulded to form, feels the abolition of the cast system. The lower working classes find it quite as difficult to adjust itself to the abnormal conditions of living under such mixed surroundings as does the better class in its effort to drop to an easy attitude without too much strain and tension. The unconscious class, that group to which internment made little difference in its restriction and its uncertainty, was the negro. He did not have to work today, had no care for the morrow, had sufficient to eat and a mandolin or a banjo and a voice that might be good or bad to wile away the weary hours.

The most self-conscious class, the group to which a just confinement seemed most unjust and hard to bear, was the pro-German group. These men, for the most part born in Germany, sons of a British parent or parents, reared to manhood in German surroundings, British only in name and to avoid military service, slandered and abused by their own people and outcasts among the British, were indeed an unhappy and a miserable lot. The Duke of Baden taking pity on them gave a fund which might be used for supplying them with extra food and necessities from the canteen. When practically all the British, with the exception of those who for reasons of principle would not accept them, were receiving food packages from home to supplement the prison fare, pro-Germans were left without such assistance and this fund while it lasted was a veritable godsend to them.

Much has been said in the previous pages of the military discipline of the prison camps and the labor in the working camps. When a study is made of the internment camps for civilians it is evident that a lack of military discipline, of military training, together with lack of occupation were the twin evils of these institutions. Out of this amorphous mass of human beings, herded in a narrow space, with nothing to do, it was natural that men of brain power, of training and high ideals, should look for some means to so organize the camp as to lessen the evils of confinement. To offer not only mental and physical relaxation but that mental occupation which would help to pass the time, prepare them for a better work, and keep the years of their confinement from being wasted. Such men there were and they deserve much credit for a camp organization which offered to the men self-government and opportunities for education or better still the service of teaching others. While much has been written of the box-stalls for beds in the Ruhleben camps, with not a little criticism of the food and other things, I take it that there is no one in or out of Ruhleben who has anything but good to say of the kindly sympathetic officer in charge of this camp, Graf Schwerin. He not only did everything possible under the circumstances to mitigate the lot of the interned but cooperated in every way in carrying out any suggestion from the men or their committees which would make for their peace of mind or their comfort.

The administration is under Graf Schwerin, assisted by Baron von Taube and a staff of commissioned and noncommissioned officers. There is a guard of 150 men with quarters provided under the grand stand. These are shortly to be removed outside of the camp. The German guard in the camp is a source of irritation to the interned and a source of trouble to the commandant.

At the present time the internal administration is largely in the hands of committees of the interned. The camp is well organized, both for discipline and the physical and mental comfort of the interned. This has been a matter of slow development. At first there was a necessity for interpreters and naturally enough when it came to an organization of the camp, the interpreters acted as intermediaries between the men interned and the military authorities. One of these was ap-

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pointed "Captain of the Camp," later he was exchanged and returned to England and the present captain, a Mr. P—, was appointed. The camp is divided into barracks of about 200 men. Each barrack has it own captain at first appointed by the captain of the camp. Later new barrack captains were elected. They are held responsible for the order and discipline of their individual barracks and lead the men when they march for food etc. (See Appendix.)

HOUSING. The men are housed in barracks built of wood, one story in height, and arranged in a series of rooms on either side of a long corridor, paved with cement. Each room will hold three or five men. The bedding is of straw, the bed places bunks built against the wall. The rooms are clean and well ventilated. Class distinctions are not recognized, with the single exception that the negroes are all housed together (250) in one large isolated barrack.

These latter are orderly, clean, and it is said that this barrack was the only one in the camp which had not at any time been infected with vermin. Permission was given to have a classification of the interned made, inasmuch as this has been permitted in the camps in England, but Captain P—— and others considered this inadvisable inasmuch as the present plan was working so well.

DISCIPLINE. The camp is regulated by a force of British subjects. This consists of an inspector,

four sergeants and fifty men. This force has no power to inflict punishment. It can only report to the captain who may use moral suasion: if this does not suffice, the matter is taken up with the German military authorities. Punishments may be ordered for infractions of camp discipline and consists of three days of detention on a bread and water diet, two days of detention on a full diet and three days of bread and water diet. This may be extended for two weeks. Such discipline is usually inflicted for the abuse of alcohol. Eleven escapes have occurred from the camp, two of these have not been returned, the others were captured and are now in prison detention in Berlin. Efforts on the part of the Embassy and the captain to have these men returned to the camp have not been successful. The authorities evidently reason that if these runaways return they will spread the information as to methods of escape.

The food supply is regulated by the German military authorities. At first the food supplies, cooking, etc., were in the hands of a contractor who was awarded the contract on the basis of 76 pfennigs per diem. So much objection was made on the part of the interned to the small quantity of food and its poor quality that eventually the German authorities handed over the whole matter to the camp committees. Now this food is controlled by four inspectors (British) and the contract system has been abandoned. Complaints as to the quantity and quality of the food still exist. It

appears that formerly practically the entire camp had to be supplied from the kitchens. There was often insufficient food for the entire camp and the late comers secured food of poor quality. This has been entirely eliminated due to the food supplies transmitted from England by parcels post to the camp. All kinds of food bread, canned meat, canned vegetables, etc., are sent in; in one month some 10,000 packages were received. As a result of these additions to the food supplies a large precentage of men do not march to the kitchens for their food. From one barrack of 250 men certainly not more than 100 reported for dinner the day we inspected the camp. The dinner this day consisted of fish well cooked, and potatoes of good grade and well cooked. Opportunity is given in an auxiliary kitchen for the interned to receive hot water at 2 francs per kilo and a range is provided where they may cook their own food received by parcels post. The bread supplied is the usual soldier's bread, heavy and hard and a bit soggy. This is not used when the interned can secure wheat bread from Switzerland or home. Fish and meat days are not observed as required for the German population but practically to the same effect, i.e., in the camp certain barracks serve meat on certain days, other barracks on other days. Outside two days in the week are definitely designated as fish days.

Complaint is made by the men that the German guard is supplied with a much more generous diet; they are, however, on a war footing and detailed for heavy work, etc.

For those who can pay a restaurant with *table* d'hote meals exists in the Casino. Here the convalescent, ill, and those who work, if they have the money, may secure not only good food, but also beer, wine etc. Complaint was made that the prices are exorbitant; for wine, at least twice that for which the same may be bought outside. The officers of the guard secure their food here so that the complaint is again made that they serve a five or six course meal for marks 1.50, thus having the Casino Restaurant seem at a loss on the camp books.

EXERCISE. Compulsory exercise is not enforced. A large area, one half of the racing enclosure,  $200 \ge 150$  yards, is used for football; two fields may be occupied at the same time. Barrack teams have been organized and a regular schedule of games has been arranged. In this way a large number of men obtain exercise. A short golf course of five holes, and several tennis courts are available for those who play these games. For others the enclosure is sufficiently large to obtain exercise by walking about.

BATHING. All interned, by barrack formation are expected to bathe once a week in a bathing building outside the enclosure where warm showers are used. Many of the men avail themselves of the opportunity of the more frequent use of the cold showers within the enclosure. These men are not compelled to take the hot weekly bath if they do not desire to do so.

MEDICAL ATTENTION. For those who are ill with slight ailments a temporary hospital within the enclosure is available. For more severe ailments a larger hospital outside the grounds is used. This was previously a railway station for emigrants sailing for America. About fifty patients with rheumatism, pleurisy, pulmonary tuberculosis, pneumonia, gall stones, neurasthenia and mild depression psychoses were here being treated. The medical staff consists of surgeons of the Sanitary Corps of the army, a captain and a lieutenant. Hospital orderly service and nursing are done by the interned.

HYGIENE. The public latrines are of a military type and have to be pumped out. There is no privacy here. In order to overcome this, private latrines have been installed from the prisoners' funds which may be used on payment of a small fee. There is no other drainage at this camp.

AMUSEMENTS. In addition to the games above mentioned which afford an out-of-door interest not only to the players but to the majority of those in the camp, a theatre, seating 350, with all the necessary stage apparatus, lighting, etc., has been installed in one of the buildings. Nightly performances of farces, vaudeville and Shakespearean plays are here given. In addition to this a cinematograph is in operation with two performances daily. For both of these a fee is charged.

EDUCATION. Educational facilities are available for those who care to take advantage of them. Some eight or ten rooms on the second story of one of the buildings are used for various classes. French, English, German, navigation, mathematics, biology, physics, and chemistry are taught. Crude laboratories have been installed with primitive apparatus for chemistry and physics; the biological laboratory is equipped with three microscopes and simple improvised apparatus. Sufficient material for demonstration is easily found in the camp. The classes are well attended and the work and teaching receives serious attention. In some of the subjects, navigation, for example, arrangements have been made with the school authorities in England, so that after examination, this work counts as so many units in the course for a certificate. All a man's available time may be occupied with these courses. At the change of hours the hurrying of these grownups with note books in hand from the class buildings reminds one of the universities at home.

DENTISTRY. A dental room has been established from the camp funds and with the help of the Embassy funds, for the care of the teeth; Dr. Robertson and Dr. Moore are in charge. Dr. Moore is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and was practicing in Munich when the war broke out. The dentists have quarters in the same dental laboratory building. The interned pay for the dental work when they can. All of the fees go to pay

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for the installation and upkeep of the department.

In addition to the above the Y. M. C. A. has erected a building with American funds. There is a large hall, with a stage at one end, which may be used as a reading, and working, and writing room when not used for religious services. The stage is fitted up with an altar for the English or Russian churches, but may be used for any of the denominations. Prayer services are held here every morning and afternoon. There is in addition to this a small Roman Catholic chapel and a Jewish synagogue. A German Catholic priest resides voluntarily in the camp. He has about 200 Catholics under his charge.

There are two large rooms at the end of the building, one of which is used as a reference library, equipped with about 2000 volumes sent from England. The other room is used as a committee room and is well stored with religious books. In addition to this there is a circulating library of 2500 volumes in the camp.

CLUBS. There are some ten or more clubs. These are composed of men who have built small rooms for themselves in the side of one of the buildings. They make good small living-rooms and are decorated according to the taste of the members. One large club was granted permission to organize, by the military authorities, without consultation with the camp committees. The latter have no control over it and disapprove of this club and will have nothing to do with it. Before the organization of the smaller clubs, a group of men had roped off a corner of the football field and called this their club; and so the child in the man comes to the surface quickly under confinement and adverse circumstances.

JOURNALS. A daily and weekly are published in the camp. The daily journal is a mimeographed sheet giving the official communications from the different fronts and the dispatches from the daily newspapers. The weekly is a more pretentious booklet containing short stories, poems, etc., and the reports of the various athletic activities.

The mail and package service are well taken care of. Both letters and mail packages are censored by a German noncommissioned officer. A special department is devoted to the reception of packages. When it is considered that in one month 10,000 packages are received for 5000 men, it will easily be seen how important a matter for camp life this is. It appears to be well administered.

Permission has been granted to men who were engaged in active business before internment to write extra letters for the continuation of their business.

VISITORS. Women visitors are not permitted. Men are permitted when possessed of the proper permission. The interned are not permitted to visit their families in Berlin or elsewhere in Germany except in the event of serious illness, which, the interned say, must be so serious that the relative is usually dead when they arrive.

WORK. The interned are not compelled to work about the camp. If they are, however, willing to do it, they are paid for the service. Most of these men refuse on the ground that it will be of some aid to the Germans.

Food conditions during the summer of 1916 was a matter of much discussion in the public prints in England and evidently much concern on the part of the general public. The technical food survey made by Dr. A. E. Taylor was exceptionally well done and a fine piece of scientific work. It revealed the fact that the quantity of the food was definitely below the amount actually needed by this large number of men. It was later admitted that the large amount of food being sent to the camp from England was taken into consideration in the supply sent to the kitchen. There was no evidence at the time, so far as the general appearance of the men was concerned, of any marked lack of The pro-German group and those nutrition. British who as a matter of principle refused to accept food (demanding as a right that the German authorities feed them and feed them properly), were the only ones who suffered from the reduction of the food ration. It was stated that the camp authorities, realizing the impending and prospective food shortage, had accumulated a large fund from the reduction in the camp food so that at the high prices of the future they would

still be able to supply the camp with sufficient nutritious food. While the food for the most part was unattractive on account of its method of preparation and while some of the food used, such as boiled sausage, that to which Englishmen were unaccustomed, it was on the whole nutritious and unobjectionable. The objection of some of the men, usually stokers, and men of the laboring class, to some of the food appeared to be unreasonable. The kitchen committee, who had control of the preparation of the food, was composed of exceptional men. What these men had to put up with in scurrilous criticism from some of the lower orders in the camp as a return for unselfish devotion to their self-imposed task. I am afraid. will not be included in the tales of Ruhleben.

#### CAMP AT SCHOLOSS CELLA

The camp at Scholoss Cella was intended for certain of the better classes, particularly officers on the reserve list or those too old for military duty. It is a large and attractive castle formally the property of the kings of Hanover. The building is very old, the sanitation and bathing facilities deficient. While there is a large park around the castle the civilians interned were not permitted here on account of the difficulty of guarding them. The interned were well housed in bedrooms containing from six to fourteen beds; the beds in some cases were arranged in bunk form in double tiers. Thirty British were here in-

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terned. Apart from the lack of space for exercise and games and the food, no complaints were made.

#### THE CAMP AT HOLZMINDEN

The camp for civilians interned at Holzminden was beautifully situated in a rolling country. Five thousand civilians are interned in this camp, of whom 735 are women. It is a very large camp with 84 barracks all closely placed together and surrounded by the usual barbed-wire enclosure. Fourteen of these barracks were devoted to women and children. French, Russian, Belgian and Servian and a few English were found interned in this camp. While this camp was built for the purpose of a concentration camp for civilians, it has, if anything, a more sordid appearance than the improvised camp at Ruhleben. There appears to be little excuse for the large number of prisoners confined in this limited space; the country all about is open and much more space could have been devoted to the barracks and for recreation. In contradistinction to the Ruhleben the guard is found everywhere within the camp. Military discipline is enforced. The administration is in the hands of the German authorities. The interned here are permitted to volunteer for work and are leased under contract at the usual rate of pay of German workmen. In wet weather the sordid appearance of the camp is markedly increased, due to the confinement of the interned in their barracks. This is particularly true of the

women who are confined in a separate barbed-wire enclosure and only permitted the run of the camp at certain hours of the day when they mingle with the men to attend concerts, games, exhibitions, etc. My last visit of inspection to this camp was to look up the cases of five stewardesses from the Brussels, the ship commanded by Captain Fryat, who was executed about this time. I found the portion of the camp devoted to women overcrowded and not any too clean. These women complained that they had been, from the time of their capture on June 23, 1916, taken to Brhuge, then to Ghent, then to Cologne and finally to Holzminden, and during this trip they had lost practically all their personal effects. They were unable to eat the camp food and were subsisting entirely on the parcel food given them by the French and Belgian women of the camp. The barracks were 12 x 12 x 14 feet, with 6 double windows. The beds of their barracks were arranged in the form of double tier built-in bunks. Mattresses were bags filled with excelsior. They complained bitterly of the vermin in these bunks. While a German stewardess was in charge of each barrack for women, a very disagreeable impression was made by the presence of German soldiers with fixed bayonets in these barracks. During the day privacy was out of the question. Some of the women were lying in their bunks and complained of being ill, but not sufficiently ill to go to a hospital. While some of the women were exceptionally well dressed, for the most part they were rather slovenly in appearance, which added to the general sordid and disagreeable impression of this portion of the camp. On the day of this inspection it had been raining, and mud was everywhere. Whether due to the weather or not, there was a general atmosphere of depression and uncleanliness.

What possible object could the Imperial German Government have in confining babes in arms, children, young women, middle aged women and old women tottering to the grave, in barracks in such a camp? They surely could not have been all spies or even suspicious characters. An agreement had been made to permit all British women to be returned to England if they so desired. Several British women were still in the camp, however, for one reason or another. The contention of the German authorities was that these women had violated police regulations in not returning to their homes at a certain definite fixed hour. The most that I can say of this, as only the cases of the British were investigated, is to quote the statements made by three or four of these women:

CASE OF MISS S—. Miss S— had previously refused to return to England. The British Government declined to support her in Germany as a free civilian, and she has since been interned in Holzminden. Miss S— confirmed the statement of the commandant that she refused to go to England, her refusal being based on the



"When will the war end?" This is the poignant expression everywhere



Men, women and children languishing in a hostile land

ground that she had never lived there and had neither friends nor family there. Her home is in Queenstown, Cape Colony, South Africa. She wished to return to her home.

CASE OF MISS C——. She had been in Holzminden three weeks, born in England, she has been in Germany four years, living at Klein-Flottbeek as a nurse. She wrote a letter to a friend in Ruhleben, in which she made remarks about Kitchener's death which offended the censor officials in Ruhleben. On being advised of this, she sent an apology to Graf Schwerin. Later she was seized and brought to Holzminden. She had a British passport, which was taken from her by the authorities from Holzminden. She is in need of clothes and wishes to be removed to England.

CASE OF MRS. B——. Mrs. B—— has been in Holzminden since June 29, 1916. She was born in Germany. Her husband, a Dane, had lived in England for more than twenty years. She came to Germany two years before the war broke out, living at Holstein, where her son was working in a foundry. Two prisoners of war escaped from the place where he was working; she stated that her son was arrested charged with complicity in their escape, and she was seized and sent to Holzminden.

CASE OF MRS. O----- Mrs. O----- was the wife of a professor of one of the Canadian universities. She was in Switzerland at the commencement of the war and then went to Hamburg. In August, 1914, she was supplied with 150 marks from the American consul general at Hamburg. She went to Holland, and had some difficulty in getting across to England, so she returned to Hamburg, where she has been since that time. She disobeyed the police regulations that she must be in her dwelling place after 8 p. M., and for that reason has been interned at Holzminden. She considers herself a British subject.

Surely a civilized government should have far more serious reasons than stated in these cases to create such an atmosphere as that in Holzminden.

In contrast to the camp, the commandant and his officers were housed in a fine sanatarium building some distance away. He took no pains to conceal a very cordial dislike in anything connected or concerned with the British, including the inspection officers of the Embassy. As an open manifestation of this a printed copy of the "Hymn of Hate" was hung ostentatiously in the commandant's office where every one entering might "read as they ran," if they could. He at first denied on both visits that there were any British in the camp. It was only after an insistent attitude on our part that the matter was investigated. As usual in prison camps his attitude and frame of mind was communicated to those under him and through the camp. As in working camps, the brutalizing influence of crude, coarse, unsanitary conditions of a large camp was well shown in the women's section. To me looking back upon it, it was an unspeakable place.

After a careful inspection of the German interned in England it may be stated that Germany has failed miserably in meeting this problem as compared with the solution of it by the British. Even after two years of almost constant remonstrance, complaint, urging and threats in reference to Ruhleben, Ambassador Gerard was compelled to report to the London Foreign Office as follows:

"I regret to state that practically no improvement in the housing of the prisoners has been The harracks at Ruhleben are overmade. The imperial authorities, after nearly crowded. two years of war, have certainly had ample time to improve accommodations for the prisoners. It is intolerable that people of education should be herded six together in a horse's stall; and in some of the lofts the bunks touch one another. The light for reading is bad, and reading is a necessity if these poor prisoners are to be detained during another winter.

"In the hayloft above the stables conditions are even worse. For example, in Barrack No. 2, onehalf section of the loft is, at the center, about two feet from the floor from the highest point; and the loft slopes downward, so that at the sides it is only four and a half feet above the floor. The floor of this part of the loft is about 10.80 meters by 12.80 meters. The beds are so close together that they touch. In this confined space sixty-four

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men live. The light from the little windows is so faint that the prisoner's eyes will be seriously injured, if the sight is not permanently lost, and this semidarkness will undoubtedly cause depression and mental trouble.

"The heating system should be improved and provision made for the drying of clothes by radiators or a drying room in each barrack. The prisoners are obliged to answer roll calls outside, often in the rain, and have no means of drying their soaked garments.

"Many things, such as soap—usually issued to prisoners, even in jails, I am informed—have never been given to the prisoners at Buhleben. Various authorities from time to time have promised that the housing would be bettered. The present conditions should no longer prevail; during another winter they will be impossible. . . ."

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# CHAPTER XIV

## INTERNATIONAL LAW AS APPLIED TO THE PRISONER OF WAR

**T** should be borne in mind that an examination of The Hague Convention will show that Great Britain was a signatory to the first Hague Convention in 1899. Under that convention, 1899, in article five it is stated as follows:

"In the event of one of the high contracting Parties denouncing the present Convention, such denunciation would not take effect until a year after the notification made to the Netherland Government, and by it at once communicated to all the other contracting Powers."

Great Britain acted upon this article.

In the second Hague Convention of 1907, under article four, it is stated that: "The present Convention, duly ratified, shall as between the contracting Powers be substituted for the Convention of the 29th, July 1899, respecting the laws and customs of war on land."

The Convention of 1899 remains in force as between the Powers which signed it, and which do not also ratify the present Convention.

It will, therefore, be seen that from a standpoint of International Law, that The Hague Conven-227 tion of 1899 respecting the laws and customs of war on land still obtains as between Germany and Great Britain.

# CHAPTER II. ON PRISONERS OF WAR

## ARTICLE 4

Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not in that of the individuals or corps who captured them.

They must be humanely treated.

All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property.

# ARTICLE 5

Prisoners of war may be interned in a town, fortress, camp, or any other locality; but they can only be confined as an indispensable measure of safety.

# ARTICLE 6

The State may utilize the labor of the prisoner of war according to their rank and aptitude. Their tasks shall not be excessive, and shall have nothing to do with the military operations.

Prisoners may be authorized to work for the public service, for private persons, or on their own account.

Work done for the State shall be paid for according to the tariffs in force for soldiers of the national army employed on similar tasks.

When the work is for other branches of the

public service or for private persons, the conditions shall be settled in agreement with the military authorities.

The wages of the prisoners shall go towards improving their position, and the balance shall be paid them at the time of their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance.

# ARTICLE 7

The Government into whose hands prisoners of war have fallen is bound to maintain them.

GENERAL TREATMENT. Failing a special agreement between the belligerents, prisoners of war shall be treated as regards food, quarters and clothing, on the same footing as the troops of the Government which has captured them.

# ARTICLE 8

Prisoners of war shall be subject to the laws, regulations, and orders in force in the army of the State into whose hands they have fallen. Any act of insubordination warrants the adoption, as regards them, of such measures of severity as may be necessary.

Escaped prisoners, recaptured before they have succeeded in rejoining their army, or before quitting the territory occupied by the army that captured them, are liable to disciplinary punishment.

Prisoners who, after succeeding in escaping are again taken prisoners, are not liable to any punishment for the previous flight.

#### ARTICLE 9

Every prisoner of war, if questioned, is bound to declare his true name and rank, and if he disregards this rule, he is liable to a curtailment of the advantages accorded to the prisoner of war of his class.

#### ARTICLE 10

Prisoners of war may be set at liberty on parole if the laws of their country authorize it, and in such a case, they are bound, on their personal honor, scrupulously to fulfil, both as regards their own Government and the Government by whom they were made prisoners, the engagements they have contracted.

RECOGNITION OF. In such cases, their own Government shall not require of nor accept from them any service incompatible with the parole given.

#### ARTICLE 11

A prisoner of war cannot be forced to accept his liberty on parole; similarly the hostile Government is not obliged to assent to the prisoner's request to be set at liberty on parole.

## ARTICLE 12

Any prisoner of war, who is liberated on parole and recaptured, bearing arms against the Government to whom he had pledged his honor, or against the allies of that Government forfeits his right to be treated as a prisoner of war, and can be brought before the courts.

## ARTICLE 13

Individuals who follow an army without directly belonging to it, such as newspaper correspondents and reporters, sutlers, contractors, who fall into the enemy's hands, and whom the latter think fit to detain, have a right to be treated as prisoners of war, provided they can produce a certificate from the military authorities of the army they were accompanying.

# ARTICLE 14

A bureau for information relative to prisoners of war is instituted, on the commencement of hostilities, in each of the belligerent States, and, when necessary, in the neutral countries on whose territory belligerents have been received. This bureau is intended to answer all inquiries about prisoners of war, and is furnished by the various services concerned with all the necessary information to enable it to keep an individual return for each prisoner of war. It is kept informed of internments and changes, as well as of admissions into hospitals and deaths.

It is also the duty of the information bureau to receive and collect all objects of personal use, valuables, letters, etc., found on battlefields or left by prisoners who have died in hospital or ambulance, and to transmit them to those interested.

## ARTICLE 15

Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are regularly constituted in accordance with the law of the country with the object of serving as the intermediary for charity, shall receive from the belligerents for themselves and their duly accredited agents every facility, within the bounds of military requirements and administrative regulations, for the effective accomplishments of their humane task. Delegates of these societies may be admitted to the places of internment for the distribution of relief, as also the halting places of repatriated prisoners, if furnished with a personal permit by the military authorities, and on giving an engagement in writing to comply with all their regulations for order and police.

# ARTICLE 16

The information bureau shall have the privilege of free postage. Letters, money orders, and valuables, as well as postal parcels destined for the prisoners of war or dispatched by them shall be free of all postal duties both in the countries of origin and destination, as well as in those they pass through.

Gifts and relief in kind for prisoners of war shall be admitted free of all duties of entry and others, as well as of payments for carriage by the Government railways.

## ARTICLE 17

Officers taken prisoners may receive, if necessary, the full pay allowed them in this position by their country's regulations, the amount to be repaid by their Government.

## ARTICLE 18

Prisoners of war shall enjoy every latitude in the exercise of their religion, including attendance at their own church services, provided only they comply with regulations for order and police issued by the military authorities.

## ARTICLE 19

The wills of prisoners of war are received or drawn up on the same conditions as for soldiers of the national army.

BURIALS, ETC. The same rules shall be observed regarding death certificates, as well as for the burial of prisoners of war, due regard being paid to their grade and rank.

## Article 20

After the conclusion of peace, the repatriation of prisoners of war shall take place as speedily as possible.

# CHAPTER III. ON THE SICK AND WOUNDED

## ARTICLE 21

The obligations of belligerents with regard to the sick and wounded are governed by the Geneva

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Convention of the 22nd, August 1864, subject to any modifications which may be introduced into it.

A critical analysis will show in a general way the provisions of The Hague Convention in reference to the prisoners of war in Germany have not been respected. It is evident, however, from the general substance of this report that these regulations neither go far enough or are they sufficiently specific in a general way or in detail to insure for the prisoner of war a treatment consistent with the present status of civilization. While the actual fighting may be considered a relic of barbarism the prisoner of war shortly after his capture is removed from this atmosphere and the treatment extended to him should be consistent with the general aims and ideals of the people who hold him prisoner. If The Hague Convention be a Convention as between civilized peoples, treatment of the prisoner of war should be insisted upon in conformity with the usages of civilized nations. With this end in view all those factors which during the present war have operated to the disadvantage of the prisoner should be carefully considered in future Conventions and Regulations governing them drawn up, not in a general way, but in detail.

In reference to First: The provisions governing the prisoner of war:

## ARTICLE 4

"Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not in that of the individuals or corps who captured them.

"They must be humanely treated.

"All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property."

While here there is a distinct provision that the prisoner of war is in the power of the hostile Government, but is not in that of the individual corps who captured them, it is, nevertheless, true that while the corps did not so act the individual States of Germany, Bavaria, Saxony and Wurttenberg, Prussia, all held their prisoners, captured by their various army corps in their individual States. When the independent attitude of the various ministries of war of these States to the Central Government at Berlin is considered it is open to question whether the spirit of this article is maintained.

The Central Government must deal directly through its Embassy with the Central Government of the Empire and not that of the individual States. If the individual States and even the individual army corps commanders within such States have the right and the power to disregard recommendations from the Central Ministry of War at Berlin the control of the care of the prisoner of war and the correction of evils incidental thereto will be found increasingly difficult and often impossible. To offer an analogy would be very much the same as if the regiments from the various States in the United States should turn over to their respective States prisoners of war captured; the prisoner would then remain under divided authority and responsibility established as between the War Department in Washington and the local State governments.

While the general scheme of organization plan of camp and the regulations regarding treatment, feeding and clothing the prisoner of war was adhered to. Regulations concerning the governing of the prisoner of war were frequently issued by the state ministries of war (Bavaria, etc.), and army corps commanders directly at variance with those of the War Ministry.

The second part of this provision, that prisoners must be humanely treated could not even be considered as true in reference to many of the matters considered in this book.

# ARTICLE 5

"Prisoners of war may be interned in a town, fortress, camp, or any other locality, and bound not to go beyond certain fixed limits; but they can only be confined as an indispensable measure of safety."

While the terms of this article are somewhat obscure it may be stated in a general way that the principle was adhered to. In reprisal and punishment camps it was not respected and more particularly in camps such as Minden.

In Minden, Langensalza, and other "forcing camps," both the spirit and the letter of this provision was violated. This is true even if the term "confined" means confinement in prison for the simple reason that the camp at Minden could not be considered as other than prison confinement. The confinement in this camp prison was not "an indispensable measure of safety," but a forcing measure to compel noncommissioned officers to labor in working camps.

# ARTICLE 6

"A. The State may utilize the labor of the prisoner of war according to their rank and aptitude. Their tasks shall not be excessive and shall have nothing to do with military operations."

While the Convention of 1899 does not consider the question of officers the Convention of 1907 excepts officers. While this matter was considered in the chapter under Working Camps it may be stated in a general way that as far as the British prisoners of war were concerned the general spirit of this article was obeyed. The question whether the noncommissioned officer should be compelled to work is a matter which gave rise to endless trouble. This has likewise been considered under the chapter on the Problems of the Working Camps.

A matter pressing for definition is what con-

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stitutes "Military Operations," (Convention of 1899), "Operations of War," (Convention of 1907). By complaints received from time to time the British prisoner was compelled to work upon military operations. It was found upon investigation that while this in rare instances was true, it was not the rule and upon protest upon the part of the Embassy or of the Inspection the matter was immediately corrected. Whether work on military roads or on the preliminary stages of munition work in ship vards where small destroyers were being built, but in which department the prisoner of war did not come in contact, constitutes military operations should be definitely settled by agreement. Some of the prisoners of war at Homeln even went so far as to contend that working in a canning factory was assisting in military operations. The advice of the Embassy that such a position could not be supported had no effect upon those who had refused to take part in such work, and who preferred to remain in punishment barracks and to later face a court martial on the charge of refusal to work rather than compromise with their convictions in this matter.

While there was much to be said for the position taken by the prisoners of war, inasmuch as the preparation of tin foods in a country under a food blockade may be considered in a very broad way as a part of a defensive military operation, if this position, however, were taken even as a military proposition, it could easily be extended to practi-

cally every type of work to which the prisoner was assigned in Germany. For that reason there is no other position for the Embassy to take than to stand strictly upon the above stipulation of military operation or operations at war. Under this one cannot go much further than to insist that a prisoner should not be employed either in the digging of trenches or the making of roads designed directly for military operations in the military zones adjacent to the fighting lines, that he should not be employed in the manufacture of explosives or munitions or be expected to handle them in transportation, that he should not be employed on aeroplanes nor zeppelins or hangars designed to house them, nor should he be employed either directly or indirectly in the building of water craft designed for military purposes. While it was claimed that a British prisoner of war was employed in military operations in the east front in Poland, this can neither be confirmed nor denied because the Embassy was refused permission to either visit or inspect prisoners of war in this The assertion that the French and Rusarea. sian prisoners of war were employed on military operations was justified on the ground that in France the German prisoners were so employed.

## ARTICLE 6

"B. Prisoners may be authorized to work for the public service for private persons, or on their own account."

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"Work done for the State shall be paid for according to the tariffs in force for soldiers of the national army employed on similar tasks."

Under the chapter on working camps it will be observed that this section was not only strictly adhered to, but that a compensation for work of the British prisoners of war was in excess of that paid to the German soldier, but less than that paid to the German workman. It is, however, specifically stated here that the compensation shall be according to the tariff in force for soldiers of the German army so employed. The prisoners were never permitted to work on their own account.

## ARTICLE 6

"C. When the work is for other branches of the public service or for private persons, the conditions shall be settled in agreement with the military authorities.

"The wages of the prisoners shall go towards the improving of their position, and the balance shall be paid them at the time of their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance."

As far as the war has gone this section has been lived up to. Whether the balance reserved under this clause will be paid at the time of their release remains to be seen.

## ARTICLE 7

"The Government into whose hands the prisoner of war has fallen is bound to maintain them. "Failing a special agreement between the belligerents, prisoners of war shall be treated as regards food, quarters, and clothing, on the same footing as the troops of the Government which has captured them."

As regards quarters, it may be stated that the quarters in general were somewhat similar to those provided for the guard. This, however, was not true either of food or clothing. It may be stated that during the first year of the war and to a certain extent still, the provisions of this article have not been lived up to.

## ARTICLE 8

"A. Prisoners of war shall be subject to the laws, regulations and orders in force in the army of the State into whose hands they have fallen.

"B. Any act of insubordination warrants the adoption, as regards them, of such measures of severity as may be necessary. Escaped prisoners, recaptured before they have succeeded in rejoining their army, or before quitting the territory occupied by the army that captured them, are liable to disciplinary punishment.

"C. Prisoners who, after succeeding in escaping, are again taken prisoners, are not liable to any punishment for the previous flight."

The provisions embodied in the first paragraph of this article gave entirely too much latitude to the German guard. The German army regulations are, I think, exceptionally severe and it is a mistake to treat minor acts of insubordination in the prisoner as on the same level, for the same offence, on the part of the men in the German Army, where such insubordination would evidently lead to military inefficiency. The second paragraph of this chapter was as a rule respected, both as to word and spirit and while the punishment in both army corps varied somewhat, it was never exceptionally severe as to the prisoner of war. The punishment, however, was exceptionally harsh in reference to the civilian interned who attempted escape. Cases involving the third paragraph were never presented for consideration.

## ARTICLE 9

"Every prisoner of war, if questioned, is bound to declare his true name and rank, and if he disregards this rule, he is liable to a curtailment of the advantages accorded to the prisoners of war of his class."

This needs no consideration.

# Article 10

"Prisoners of war may be set at liberty on parole if the laws of their country authorize it, and, in such a case, they are bound on their personal honor, scrupulously to fulfil, both as regards their own Government and the Government by whom they were made prisoners, the engagements they have contracted.

"In such cases, their own Government shall not

require of nor accept from them any service incompatible with the parole given."

## ARTICLE 11

"A prisoner of war cannot be forced to accept his liberty on parole; similarly the hostile Government is not obliged to assent to the prisoner's request to be set at liberty on parole."

## ARTICLE 12

"Any prisoner of war, who is liberated on parole and recaptured bearing arms against the Government to whom he had pledged his honor, or against the allies of that Government, forfeits his right to be treated as a prisoner of war, and can be brought before the courts."

Inasmuch as the question of parole related only to officers and then only for short periods of time, it may be stated in a general way, that these articles have not been found applicable to the prisoner of war problem during the present war.

## ARTICLE 13

"Individuals who followed an army without directly belonging to it such as newspaper correspondents and reporters, sutlers, contractors, who fall into the enemy's hands, and whom the latter think fit to detain, have a right to be treated as prisoners of war, provided they can produce a certificate from the military authorities of the army they were accompanying." No cases coming under this classification were brought to the Embassy for consideration.

## ARTICLE 14

"A bureau for information relatively to prisoners of war is instituted, on the commencement of hostilities, in each of the belligerent States, and when necessary, in the neutral countries on whose territory belligerents have been received. This bureau is intended to answer all inquiries about prisoners of war, and is furnished by the various services concerned with all the necessary information to enable it to keep an individual return for each prisoner of war. It is kept informed of internments and changes, as well as of admissions into hospitals and deaths."

While according to the specifications of this article a bureau of information was established in connection with the War Ministry in Berlin to which lists of captured prisoners are forwarded and which by the routine established these lists were in time sent to the German Foreign Office and from thence to the Embassy. It was frequently weeks before these lists were received. In some cases an attempt was evidently made to conceal a prisoner of war and when the presence of such prisoners was called to the attention of the Foreign Office a delayed list was sent. This was true more particularly in reference to prisoners from the British Fleet who might have information desirable to be concealed and prisoners from the mercantile marine taken after sea raids or prisoners such as the women stewardesses of the *Brussels* who were held pending the decision of the case of Captain Fryat. A perusal of the diplomatic correspondence published in the White Papers will show that the British Government contended and proved that the German Government did not live up to the word or spirit of this article. The German Government contended that the Red Cross bureau was official and part of their army service. This principle if admitted gave an opportunity for concealing information and shifting responsibility, etc.

The various bureaus of the various Red Cross had their own prisoner of war information bureau, and this often proved to be the quickest source of information. The admissions of prisoners of war into camp hospitals, even when seriously ill were not reported and while deaths were reported, deaths from violence or prisoners killed by the guard were never reported as such to the Embassy and not reported as such to the family of the individual.

## ARTICLE 15

"Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are regularly constituted in accordance with the law of the country with the object of serving as the intermediary for charity, shall receive from the belligerents for themselves and their duly accredited agents every facility, within the bounds of military requirements and administrative regulations, for the effective accomplishment of their humane task. Delegates of these societies may be admitted to the places of internment for the distribution of relief, as also to the halting places of repatriated prisoners, if furnished with a personal permit by the military authorities, and on giving an engagement in writing to comply with all their regulations for order and police."

The International Y. M. C. A. was given permission to visit the parent camps and while some difficulties arose from time to time, it may be said as far as this Society was concerned, in reference to camps, the letter of this regulation was observed, even if the spirit of it was at times violated.

The wording of this article is somewhat vague. While it is not specifically stated it is evidently intended to apply to relief societies organized in neutral countries. Neither delegations nor representatives of the many French and British Societies were permitted to visit these camps and under the conditions this was hardly to be expected.

# ARTICLE 16

"The information bureau shall have the privilege of free postage. Letters, money orders, and valuables, as well as postal parcels destined for the prisoners of war or dispatched by them, shall be free from all postal duties both in the countries of origin and destination, as well as in those they pass through.

"Gifts and relief in kind for prisoners of war shall be admitted free from all duties of entry and others, as well as of payments for carriage by the Government railways."

The first paragraph of this section was respected in both letter and spirit; in regard to the second paragraph complaint was occasionally made of charges both of gifts and packages. Prayer books sent to Limburg were charged for postage, etc. This was, however, the exception, and not the rule.

## ARTICLE 17

"Officers taken prisoner may receive, if necessary, the full pay allowed them in this position by their country's regulations, the amount to be repaid by their Government."

This gave rise to much contention the first year of the war. The German Government at first refused to abide by the provisions of this article, but after a threat of reprisal eventually consented to it.

An arrangement was later made whereby the British prisoners could draw through Holland for their full pay.

## ARTICLE 18

"Prisoners of war shall enjoy every latitude in the exercise of their religion, including attendance at their own church services, provided only they comply with the regulations for order and police issued by the military authorities."

It may be stated that in a general way an attempt was made to observe this provision. In working camps, however, provisions for the attendance of the prisoners of war at religious services were often either neglected or lack of provision made, which amounted to prohibition.

# ARTICLE 19

"The wills of prisoners of war are received or drawn up on the same conditions as for soldiers of the national army.

"The same rules shall be observed regarding death certificates as well as for the burial of prisoners of war; due regard being paid to their grade and rank."

No complaint can be made in reference to the observances of this article.

Notwithstanding the exceptions noted under each of the above headings it will be seen that the general underlying principle established for the prisoner of war was based upon the rules laid down in this Convention. When conditions arose not covered by this Convention they received consideration either by voluntary agreement between the belligerent Powers affected to the Central Government representing them or by reprisal carried out by one or other groups of prisoners of war as the case might be. The Geneva Convention of 1906 for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in armies in the field—

## CHAPTER I. ARTICLE 4

"As soon as possible each belligerent shall forward to the authorities of their country or army the marks or military papers of identification found upon the bodies of the dead, together with a list of names of the sick and wounded taken in charge by him.

"Belligerents will keep each other mutually advised of internments and transfers, together with admissions to hospitals and deaths which occur among the sick and wounded in their hands. They will collect all objects of personal use, valuables, letters, etc., which are found upon the field of battle, or have been left by the sick or wounded who have died in sanitary formations or other establishments, for transmission to persons in interest through the authorities of their own country."

This has already been considered. In reference to the hospitals attached to the prison camps, reports were not so made, even when prisoners were seriously ill. Deaths were reported as were admissions of wounded prisoners to the regular military hospitals.

# CHAPTER III. ARTICLE 9

"The personnel charged exclusively with the removal, transportation, and treatment of the sick and wounded, as well as with the administration of sanitary formations and establishments, and the chaplains attached to armies, shall be respected and protected under all circumstances. If they fall into the hands of the enemy they shall not be considered as prisoners of war.

"These provisions apply to the guards of sanitary formations and establishments in the case provided for in section 2 of Article 8."

In many camps members of the Royal Army Medical Corps were held and treated as prisoners of war. Mention has already been made, under the chapter on Wittenberg, of a violation of this article. In reference to Red Cross orderlies, stretcher bearers, etc., the practice in the last year has been to return them to their own countries. Notwithstanding this, complaints were occasionally made by men, prisoners of war, who claimed they were attached to sanitary formations.

# CHAPTER III. ARTICLE 12

"Persons described in Articles 9, 10 and 11, will continue in the exercise of their functions, under the direction of the enemy, after they have fallen into his power.

"When their assistance is no longer indispensable they will be sent back to their army or country, within such period and by such route as may accord with military necessity. They will carry with them such effects, instruments, arms and horses as are their private property." It might be assumed that this article covers and excuses the violation of Article 9 discussed in the paragraph above. While Russian and French physicians were found in the Prison Camp Hospitals, the British were practically never found there except during the typhus epidemic. They were held and treated as prisoners in camps for officers, prisoners of war.

# CHAPTER XV.

### THE INTERNMENT OF PRISONERS OF WAR IN SWITZERLAND

GENEVA Convention of 1906, Chapter I, Article 2:

"Subject to the care that must be taken of them under the preceding article, the sick and wounded of an army who fall into the power of the other belligerent become prisoners of war, and the general rules of international law in respect to prisoners of war become applicable to them.

"The belligerents remain free, however, to mutually agree upon such clauses, by way of exception or favor, in relation to the wounded or sick as they may deem proper. They shall especially have authority to agree—

"1. To mutually return the sick and wounded left on the field of battle after an engagement.

"2. To send back to their own country the sick and wounded who have recovered, or who are in a condition to be transported and whom they do not desire to retain as prisoners.

"3. To send the sick and wounded of the enemy to a neutral State, with the consent of the latter and on condition that it shall charge itself with their internment until the close of hostilities." After prolonged negotiations an arrangement was eventually effected covering the conditions of exchange of wounded and ill prisoners of war according to paragraph 3, above stated. Local boards were convened in the different army corps and the British chosen for exchange were assembled at Aix la Chapelle and passed on by a board consisting of several medical staff officers and an officer representing the line.

The medical conditions upon which exchange was based were as follows:

(a) All severely wounded and sick who because of their injuries or the disease with which they were suffering will not be able to resume active service and in case of officers and noncommissioned officers, who were not able to perform office work or instruction of recruits were to be considered candidates for exchange.

(b) The injuries or illnesses which would warrant exchange were the following:

1. The entire or partial loss of one or more extremities (the least being a hand or foot).

2. Impaired usefulness of one or more extremities, because of stiffness, atrophy or shortening of muscles, false joints; disease of spine, which resulted in a marked disturbance in motility or more advanced cases where there was an associated aneurism. In the above two paragraphs the loss or paralysis of an extremity in commissioned and noncommissioned officers would not be considered unless an associated illness made them unfit for office work or instruction of recruits.

3. Permanent paralysis, or that which because of its position or extension was of a severe degree.

4. Injury to the brain with severe sequelæ (Hemiplegia or the disturbance of important brain functions).

5. Injury of the spinal cord with severe sequelæ.

6. Loss of sight in both eyes (blindness). The loss of sight in one eye was to be considered, if there was a marked diminution of vision in the remaining eye.

7. Severe disfigurement of the face and severe injury of the oral cavity.

8. Protracted illness following wounds.

9. Wounds of the chest.

10. Abdominal and pelvic wounds. (In 9 and 10 only when followed by sequelæ.)

11. Advanced Pulmonary Tuberculosis.

12. Chronic illness as a result of internal disease.

13. Incurable mental diseases.

A repatriation of only a small number of menand officers was effected upon the basis of this agreement. These were so badly wounded that there was not the slightest possibility of any of them ever being of any possible use from a military or an auxiliary standpoint. Notwithstanding sections 11 and 13 of this agreement, large numbers of prisoners suffering from tuberculosis even in the advanced stages (vide infra-mortality statistics), and mental diseases were refused repatriation on the bare possibility that they might recover and be of some slight military value.

There was no prospect with food conditions as they were, with the fat supply at the lowest level of any of the food products and no prospect of hope of improvement in reference to it, that patients suffering with tuberculosis could or would receive the over-feeding diet necessary to make any improvement in their condition. The conditions in the camps were likewise unfavorable. The tuberculous patients when sufficiently advanced to be easily recognized were grouped in one of the barracks of the camp hospital. In one of the camps (Wahn) they were housed in a pavillion outside of the camp. While there was some talk of an institution for the special care of tuberculous prisoners and a site selected, this had not materialized up to September, 1916. The nervous tension, depression and uncertainty as to the future acted in a deleterious way on these patients. They uniformly went from bad to worse, from incipient early curable cases to hopeless advanced cases, dying in confinement.

According to the statistics issued by the German Government, August 1st, 1916, 29,297 deaths had occurred amongst the prisoners of war; of these 6,032 died from tuberculosis, 4,201 from typhus fever, 6,270 from wounds, and 6,603 from other causes (illness, accident (?), suicide, etc.). It is quite conceivable that at home the early cases of tuberculosis at least might be cured. It was quite certain on the other hand that if they were not returned home they would not get well and would probably die. Even if they did get better, even well, they could not be used again for military purposes. Assuming, however, that a small number might be so used, the condemning to death of these 6,000 men by slow stages away from their families, reeks of the barbarity of the Middle Ages.

I have heard men suffering with tuberculosis beg for fat as a drug habitué would beg for morphine. I have heard consumptives demand that if they could not be better treated and better fed that it was the duty of the German Government to send them home. This action in relation to the consumptives cannot be excused in a nation who stood first in the crusade against tuberculosis, the pioneer in fact, and so proud of their position and knowledge that long before the war, with Prussian arrogance they would not concede to the scientists of other nations the right to question their opinion or judgment. (Controversy over the intercommunicability of bovine and human tuberculosis, continuing up to the international congress of tuberculosis in Washington, 1907.) They certainly knew the underlying principles of the nature of the disease, its course and eventual termination in this group of cases. They knew what they were doing and deliberately went ahead because it was a military matter and a paltry few soldiers might get back to duty.

The report from Switzerland published widespread in the daily prints in the fall of 1916 that tuberculosis was deliberately inoculated into prisoners returned to France through Switzerland, I do not believe. I had every opportunity for observing any such performance and saw no evidence in support of it. After all, it had no military bearing or value and such action would, therefore, be inconsistent with the German military mind.

That they did leave hundreds of Irish prisoners in Limburg, in overcrowded barracks, cheek by jowl with early and middle stage cases of tuberculosis, I do believe, because I saw it myself and protested, not only to the commandant, but to the Army Corps officers and to the foreign office in Berlin. I even went so far as to point out that where so much lung disease existed they should have every man in this camp examined by an expert in order to weed out the active cases of lung disease, separate them from the healthy men in the overcrowded, poorly-ventilated barracks and to take measures to save the early cases. I had the temerity to suggest the names of experts competent to do this work and this advisedly because in the hospital and in the barrack infirmaries they refused to acknowledge as tuberculous men who were having hemorrhages, chronic cough, loss of weight and fever and were diagnosed on the bed

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charts as gastritis, chronic bronchitis, chronic pleurisy, etc., and yet nothing was done. They were prisoners, had refused the offer of a friendly hand, the military necessity, the safety of the Empire and the infallibility in diagnosis of the German Army doctor demanded that nothing should be done.

What has been said of tuberculosis was equally true of mental disease. It is self-evident and a rule driven home by experience, that a man who has had a mental break-down, whether he be officer or private, can never be trusted again in the Army where clear thinking and mental responsibility qualifications. Notwithstanding essential are this, men who had gone insane at prison camps were refused repatriation because, forsooth, they might recover their reason at home. It was evident that they would not get well under the mental stress and worry of prison confinement. A. specific case in point is that of Captain C----, confined in a sanatorium near Magdeburg, suffering from delusional insanity. The case was investigated by Dr. Ohnesorg and myself. The expert on insanity in charge of the institution admitted that Captain C---- could not possibly get well in Germany under confinement, but refused to recommend repatriation because he stated he would have good chances for the recovery of his reason at home. All of which was quite true.

After much diplomatic discussion and prolonged delay an agreement was reached at first between France and Germany and later between German and Great Britain whereby a prisoner suffering from certain specified diseases and who would not be included in the exchange lists noted above, might be interned in Switzerland for the remainder of the war at the expense of the parent country of the nationals interned. (For the list of diseases, regulations governing the internment and the interned, see Appendix.)

A commission of Swiss physicians were to visit the various camps; a German physician had a seat on this commission. All the prisoners of war were to be notified in advance of the visit of the commission and were to have the right to apply for examination if they considered themselves eligible for internment.

In addition to this a list of sick prisoners from hospitals and camps were to be referred by the German military surgeon. The commission began its labors with the British in the early summer of 1916. The commission refused, however, to accept mental cases and would only accept tuberculous cases in the very early stages. The advanced cases of tuberculosis, at first full of hope, were depressed and disappointed at this signal of their doom. While a large number of cases were interned from Limburg, a still large number of cases remained. The cases who should have been interned were men in the barracks, many of whom did not even suspect they had the disease.

Many difficulties developed in the carrying out

of the work of the commission. Some of these were incidental to the scope of the work, its size and the fact that such a large percentage of prisoners were in the working camps. It was assumed that the latter were in good health. Some of the difficulties placed in the way of easy access to the commission were due to a lack of full cooperation by some of the commandants of the Sometimes previous notice of the visit of camps. the commission was not made in the camps and only cases referred by the camp physicians were examined. The British prisoners at Kreis Celle complained that those of them selected by the camp surgeon for examination by the commission were sent to another parent camp where the commission was sitting; that there they were assigned to hard work. Upon their refusal to work upon the grounds that they were ill, the noncommissioned officer told them unless they did the work assigned to them they would not be permitted to appear before the commission. On the whole, barring a few exceptions such as those just mentioned, the work of the commission was supported by the camp commandants and the military surgeons.

A commission of review sat at the border and re-examined those passing into Switzerland. Occasionally cases passed by the commission were returned to the camps as ineligible for internment. Such cases were pathetic in their disappointment. A similar case to these was that of a young British officer at Magdeburg who made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, was tried and sentenced to one year of imprisonment in a military jail. Shortly after beginning serving this sentence, he was sent by the prison doctor, on account of a compound fracture of the leg (and without any request of his own) before the Swiss commission. He was passed upon favorably for internment at Switzerland, but the Army Corps commander then ruled that he would have to serve the remaining ten months of his sentence in jail before the internment in Switzerland could be carried out.

The British passed by the Commission were assigned by the Swiss Government to the village of Chateau D'Oux, a summer resort with a large number of hotels, boarding houses, cottages, etc. I found this village located in one of the most beautiful valleys in Switzerland without even the suggestion of a guard. This was true not only of the village but of the entire valley in which it was located. The enlisted men lived in the smaller hotels one or at the most two, in a room-quarters equal to, if not better than that assigned to officers in the officers' prison camps in Germany. They were treated both as to food and quarters on the same plane as the usual summer tourist. Officers occupied cottages and might have their families with them, a privilege which many of them availed themselves of. The whole atmosphere of freedom and contentment was in sharp contrast to the ever-present bayonet, the soup, and

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the swaggering, pompous officer of the German prison camp. There was no necessity for a guard, the contracting governments agreeing to return to Switzerland any of their prisoners interned who might escape.

## CHAPTER XVI

### CONCLUSIONS

'IDESPREAD contact with the best elements of the German people, the middle, the working and the farmer class, gave the impression that they wanted the prisoner of war to be cared for properly and that they believed this was being done. The passion and race hatred that led at times to irresponsible, brutal and cruel actions to the British prisoner of war in the early days of the war had given way after two years of contact to a sane attitude, so much so that the officers could go on their walks freely in Germany, and the prisoners of war to their work or on the farms with little or no cause for complaint. The exceptions to this in the mines and in the workshops at times have already been noted. On account of the strict censorship of the press, and their inability to understand the technical side of many questions, they did not realize, did not know of the attitude of the neutral world towards the handling of the prisoner of war problem.

They expected their government, I think, to act decently, and I think the central civil government tried to meet the problem fairly, and as far as it 263

was able did meet it in a general way in a fair and satisfactory manner. The administration of the problem was, however, in the hands of the Army, and the Army Corps Commanders felt themselves more powerful than the Central Government. On general subjects such as the industrial problem, working camps, etc., and in all military matters they acted independently. In technical matters they were advised by their own staff experts. I have already stated in connection with the desertion of the typhus camps, that I did not believe this represented the spirit or ideals of the German medical profession. The professional army surgeon of Europe, as differentiated from the civil surgeon or physician, is a different individual. The army surgeon whether he likes it or not, is a part of a distinctive military machine. Sooner or later he realizes that he is an essential part of the machine: comes in time to look on problems from a military angle; is concerned more with the health and efficiency of his men than with the reconstructive work after they have been rendered unfit in the service.

During the first year of the war, when the military surgeon was dominant and before sheer necessity forced thousands of civilian doctors, many of exceptional position and brain power, into the ranks, he was more interested in keeping his line of communication open, to get the sick and wounded out of the way to some distant point than he was in the fortunes of the individual case. He was proud not to have his hospitals full with opportunities for helping the wounded, but rather that his hospital was empty, ready for any emergency of sudden attack or defense. He was thinking more as a soldier than as a doctor. He had grown to look upon the wounded as incubus, and to assume the military point of view to send men and munitions and supplies and food to the front, and if, when opportunity and means offered, to get the wounded back for treatment. Not that this point of view did not have its own value; war means men and guns, not doctors and wounded men who cannot fight. But that was the military point of view as contrasted with the purely humanitarianism of the civilian doctor.

One can imagine how far afield, in such a machine as the German Army, such an idea could be carried. It was just such a point of view that led whoever was in charge to order or consent to the order, for sending the wounded prisoners of war to the camp at Minden. The German profession, no less than the German people in reference to the general problem, would not have willingly and knowingly consented to such a perverted view. They were, however, without knowledge of such occurrences, and would have been powerless had they the knowledge.

The Geheim-rath professor of philosophy, chemistry or medicine is no longer the power, the ideal of the German people. The man on the horse has slowly, surely, during the past twenty years, forced him into an inconspicuous and relatively unimportant position in German life. His position was made dependent on political considerations. Today he has no more freedom in the expression of his opinions than the man in the street. The profession as a whole, more limited than its leaders in power and the ability to express themselves, were forced into the same mold as the rest of the German people by the military powers exercised through the censorship of the The noisy clique of professors, fraternity press. brothers of the crown prince might clamor for the reckless use of the submarine. The public press was open to them. Let the sane, able men of the profession attempt a protest not sanctioned by the military and not only the press, but every other means of protest, was closed to them. If they became too insistent, well, the fate of Liebknecht was a lesson, and an example not to be disregarded by thinking men.

The slow, insistent, inspired articles, day by day, in the German press had their poisonous effect in directing thought and belief as to the "perfidy of the British" and the crime of "American ammunition to kill German soldiers" of the American, on the professional man as easily as on the farmer or the mechanic. It became likewise a matter of faith, of patriotism, not to question the action of the army, its generals in the field or its surgeons at the army corps headquarters. It was so in France, during the Dreyfus affair, in England, during the first year of the war and it may be so with us unless all signs fail.

It is inconceivable in spite of the patriotism that blinds, that the profession in this country so vitally interested in right action, so jealous of its own honor, would stand for the faults herein reported, were they to be committed, either as acts of omission or commission, by surgeons, a part of the profession in the army and yet in thought and action a group apart.

Early in the war the French profession freed from the sanctity of the army by the Dreyfus purge, demanded reforms in the Sanitary service, and so dependent was the army on the civilian doctor, so interested the general public in the proper and efficient treatment of the wounded, that a cabinet crisis was precipitated and the service promptly reorganized. Such action would be impossible in Germany. There would be no action. or possibility of creating and spreading sentiment in favor of it. As mentioned above, there was no such sentiment. The army was a perfect machine with no faults to be found with any part of it. This was patriotism. Any dissent from it was met by an action based on the Burger-Frieden town peace principle. This idea is as old as the German people: it is in substance that in the face of the enemy there should be no expression of a difference of opinion, no open quarrels, political or otherwise. This was stretched by the military to the point of the prevention of expression of any opinions not favorable to them.

There is no question that the German people believe and believe sincerely, that they are fighting a defensive war: fighting for the actual existence of their homes and the Fatherland. The idea of the mission of the race, of world domination, was essentially of the military and the upper thinking classes. The masses of the people were content with the prosperity, that industrial prosperity which a benevolent paternalism gave them. The unity of ideation with patriotism for the war was created and cleverly developed and maintained through a censored and inspired press. After all it was easily created. "Had not Russia mobilized first?" and after the first rush into France and the failure at the Marne did not "the rush of Russian hordes into East Prussia, advancing almost to the gates of Berlin with fire and rape and pillage," threaten the very life of the nation, and was there not always in the background the sinister shadow of England with its statesmen and literary men, "crying for the destruction not only of the government, but also of the race," and Wilson, the ally of Asquith, sending the ammunition for the hated British, ammunition shown to them and sold to them as souvenirs. reminders of whom they were to hate; and the masses of people after reading day after day of such things in their papers, did not think that such might be true, they knew it and believed it as their gospel.

When any one high or low dared to question this wonderful army they had spent so much time and money in creating and which had grown so fat and prosperous in peace time that it threatened to "bite the hand that fed it"; this army which had saved them from Russia, and with victory after victory was punishing the invaders, such a one was threatened with or punished for a violation of the Burger-Frieden.

No one, I take it, would accuse the Germans of a fine and lively imagination, a keen sense of humor, or a sense of what was ridiculous; qualities which separate them as a race from the Latin, the Celt, or the American; and it is just the lack of these qualities that permits their blind patriotism to stand for the Belgian deportation, Wittenberg and the plague camps, Minden and Limburg, and the Turkish representations at Zossen.

The learned professions with brains technically trained, with little more power to think outside of their own special grooves, and as easily influenced by suggestion as the tradesman or the trained mechanic, believe as implicitly in the defensive nature of the war in Belgium, and gas, and that the zeppelin raids and the reckless use of the submarines are justified to save the nation and their homes and their families from a nation who would deliberately starve them to death, as does the cab-man who drives you to the station. I have faith in the German people and the German medical profession. They have reacted to an absolutely controlled press, which after all molds opinion in any country, in the same way as would the people or profession in any other country. A mistaken idea of patriotism has led them to stand for things, which with full information after the war, they may be sorry for, without feeling the necessity of a public admission of how wrong in principle they were.

In conclusion, I may restate that in a treatise of this kind, with so much stated in the line of destructive criticism as compared with the space devoted to the constructive side, a false impression may be created. I would, however, refer to my statement on parent camps, that the majority of the camps were well organized and the comfort and care of the prisoner properly considered; with the single exception of food which in the British prisoner could be disregarded because he was fed from home.

The one major lesson we can draw from this experience is that in the event that we are called upon to meet the same problem, an inspection staff of trained sociologists and sanitarians should be organized which should preferably be non-military and therefore free from the necessity of covering up military mistakes, but which should, nevertheless, report to the Secretary of War. The German Army had its own inspection service, which was inefficient and useless.

# APPENDIX A

#### (Translation)

#### STATEMENT

### CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLES OBSERVED IN THE HOUSING, FEEDING AND CLOTHING, AS WELL AS THE POSTAL TRAFFIC OF OFFICERS AND MEN HELD PRIS-ONERS OF WAR IN GERMANY.

#### FOR OFFICERS

HOUSING. In general, the place of internment must be a healthy place, absolutely unobjectionable from a hygienic point of view with at least 15 ebm. breathing space per man, which can be aired, admit full day light and can be heated and lighted daily; as few officers as possible lodged in one room, separate rooms for older officers. Heat, light and equipment is furnished by the respective commanders, and is not at the expense of the interned. The following equipment is required for each officer:

Bedstead with mattress, bolster, bedlinen and two blankets, chair or stool, an appliance for hanging up the clothing and a place for storing the eatables (where possible, closets, cabinets or chests of drawers), washbowl, water glass, towel, table (a place at the table for each), pail.

For attending the interned officers, men of the same nationality, also prisoners of war, are to be quartered in the officers' camp (approximately one man for 5 to 10 officers). This staff of orderlies has to attend to the cleaning of the clothes, living rooms, courtyards and halls, to the heating and table service, etc.

Food and Clothing. As the respective officers themselves have to pay for their food and clothing out of the pay accorded to them by the hostile country, it must be demanded that they receive on each day a sufficient and nutritious fare, the menu of which is to be as varied as possible, and this at a moderate price in order that means for their small daily wants such as laundry, etc., still remain at their disposal.

Shower baths are given free of charge.

At the present time, the moderate partaking of beer and light table wines is also permitted to officers. In the canteens, the officers can purchase plain food-stuffs, excepting cigars, tohacco and chocolate.

They may, however, let these eatables and table luxuries without exception he sent them in parcels, and the same must not be witheld from them for their use.

Books and periodicals are permitted under censorship.

### NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.

Housing. General requirements the same as with officers, only in most cases larger rooms are used, in which a greater number of prisoners are quartered. The *minimum* breathing space for each man is 5 cbm. Sleeping accommodations consist of clothing sacks (paillasses) which are filled up with straw or wood shavings, for each prisoner two woolen blankets, towel, eating utensils.

For each quarter the necessary tables, sitting places, linen and drinking cups, appliances for the hanging up of clothing, wall shelves upon which to place eatables and small articles; in each prison camp installation for bath and wash house for the cleaning of the laundry; sufficient lighting of the camps, electric light if possible.

Food. To the prisoners of war sufficient plain food shall be given, which in its quantity and composition is adapted to such class of work, as may be required of the prisoner of war.

Wherever possible, consideration shall be paid to the habits of living.

The prisoners of war receive the same quantity of bread as the German troops lodged in civilian quarters.

Three meals a day are served out:

In the morning, coffee, tea or soup.

At noon a plentiful fare consisting of meat and vegetables.

The meat may be replaced by a correspondingly larger portion of fish.

At night, a substantial and plentiful meal.

Under any circumstances the daily fare must be sufficient for the proper nourishment. The commanders who are responsible for the fulfillment of these instructions, consequently are authorized to increase the amount of meat or vegetables according to requirements; they are thereby placed in the position to better adapt the fare to the habits of living of the various nations.

Continuous and careful supervision of the food under cooperation of medical officers is absolutely necessary; attention must be paid also to the fact that the fare does not become monotonous, but is varied as much as possible.

In the canteens the men may purchase plain foodstuffs, articles for the care of the body, linenware, etc., at fixed low prices.

Concerning the contents of parcels from home, the same applies as stated in the case of officers, so for instance the handing out of tobacco for use.

Clothing. In the beginning, non-commissioned officers and men who are prisoners of war, remain in the uniform which they have brought with them. If the state of this clothing needs replacing the prisoners will at first be provided with proper articles of clothing from the booty of war. When the latter is used up, new suitable clothes are purchased. The kind of clothing is dependent upon the season, the climate and the weather. The clothing generally consists of a suit, necktie and cap, besides shirts, socks, warm underwear and good shoes are given as well as overcoats and woolen blankets · to protect against the cold.

Male civilian prisoners of war will be fitted out in the same way as military prisoners of war after their present clothing can no longer be used.

The wornout clothing of female prisoners is replaced by suitable customary garb.

### POSTAL TRAFFIC.

According to new regulations now uniformly in force throughout Germnay, the prisoners may write a letter twice monthly, and *besides* postal cards once weekly. Officers may write letters of six pages, men of four pages. If special circumstances exist, such as the adjustment of family matters and urgent affairs of a business nature, exceptions may be allowed.

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# APPENDIX B

# REGULATIONS FOR THE OFFICER PRISONER OF WAR CAMP AT BURG

1. All sentries have orders to fire, without challenging, on any prisoner who attempts to escape. The space between the wire fence and the interior fence (Back of barracks 1, 2, 3), also the space between barracks 7 and 8 and the wooden fence and the space between the little closet at the East and the wooden fence are forbidden. Every prisoner who trespasses on the forbidden spaces is presumed to be trying to escape. The same is presumed if anybody leaves his room through a window except in case of fire alarm.

2. Orders given by the guard or sentries or by officers or under-officers in charge of prisoners must be obeyed immediately. Disobedience or failure to obey orders or bodily resistance, etc., are punished according to the respective German martial laws.

3. The commandant must always be saluted in military fashion. Every prisoner of war must when speaking to the commandant stand at attention. The same refers to conversation on duty with the officer in charge and the adjutant. All officers on duty in the camp must be saluted in military fashion.

4. On the commandant, the officer in charge or the adjutant entering a room, all present officers must immediately stand at attention.

5. All prisoners of war must always wear uniform. Nobody must appear in the courtyard without headdress. When doing gymnastics or when playing games the uniform-coat and headdress can be laid aside.

6. At least twice a day roll call will be held, once in the morning and once before closing the barracks. On the signal given (two strokes on the bell or signal by trumpet) the officers and men assemble immediately in their respective rooms and must stand by their beds at the entry of whoever is holding the roll call, so that it may be ascertained without difficulty and without loss of time, who is present and who is missing. No officer may leave his room until roll call is over. At a double bell stroke followed by signal on the trumpet the officers and men assemble before their barracks, arranged according to their respective rooms.

7. The orderlies must perform all customary duties such as cleaning clothes and boots of the officers, making beds, cleaning rooms, etc. Thorough cleanliness and order in the rooms must be observed already as a measure of precaution against illness. The junior officer in each common room is responsible for its thorough cleaning by the orderlies.

8. It is forbidden to throw eatables, paper, cigars or cigarettes or their remains through the windows, on the floors, in the spittoons or in the courtyard.

9. The room utensils must not be damaged. After use they must be always returned to their places, and must especially not be taken from one room to another. Articles damaged or lost must he replaced by the one who is responsible. If the responsible person cannot be traced indemnification must be given by all the occupants of the room. The senior officer of each common room must convince himself on the first of each month that all utensils are present in accordance with the inventory. A notification in writing of the examination must be presented to the officer in charge by the third of each month in accordance with his instructions. Should any articles be missing this must be clearly stated.

10. By 9 A. M. at least, all officers must have left their beds, have washed and dressed. From 9 to 10:30 A. M. all rooms must be aired and cleaned and all beds made up. The officer in charge will on each occasion order when the rooms shall be washed out. The orderlies have to obey the orders of the junior officer of each room when cleaning the rooms.

11. At night when the first signal is given by the guard all officers must go into their respective rooms. The canteen must be left by 8 o'clock and from this hour the canteen is not allowed to sell any more goods to the persons in the dining room or in the courtyard. No prisoner of war is allowed to sit down in the kitchenroom. Smoking in the beds is prohibited. If a bed is disarranged in the course of the day it must be made up again, if necessary, by the owner himself.

12. The light may only be switched on in the rooms when the arc lamps are lit in the courtyard. All lights must be extinguished by the second signal given by the guard.

13. Officers should remember to use the Abort before the locking of the doors. Night conveniences are provided in each barrack; these are not allowed to be used in daytime.

14. Rubbish or broken glass (pot-shards) etc., must not he thrown into the Aborts standing in the yards or the night conveniences. The Aborts must be kept clean; the same is to be said about the water-pails and fire buckets in the barracks. They especially must not be used to urinate in.

All rubbish must be thrown into the dustbins in the court yards, but tin boxes must be put well cleaned in a specially appointed place only.

15. Prisoners of war who are ill must report to the underofficer who will mention the matter to the under-officer of the A. M. C. and the officer in charge, who will arrange all further necessity. The doctor of the camp is in charge, but officers may consult a doctor of their own nationality. The final decision rests with the camp doctor.

16. All officers are to be inspected once a month by their doctors. The senior doctor has to report about this consultation to the commandant on the first of each month; special direction will be given.

17. Every officer may have two baths a week in the rooms provided. Regulations for the use of the bath-rooms will be given by the officer in charge.

18. Every prisoner of war has to give his money and valuable papers to the commandantur. This money as well as the money out of his monthly pay will be credited to his account. Any payments which may become necessary will be charged to this account. Besides this every officer receives weekly from his account a certain amount in marks in accordance with special direction of the commandant, with which he may pay his special requirements, chiefly in the kitchen and canteen. Any officer who overdraws his account is guilty of breach of discipline.

The commandant reserves to himself the right to prohibit the payments of any amounts of money, if any one is guilty of breach of discipline.

19. The prisoner of war may write one letter or two postcards each week. Letters and cards are taken on Mondays at roll call by the underofficers of the barracks from the hands of each prisoner separately. Pencil only must be used; ink is available only if it is a question of documents, settlement of urgent family or business matters of legal import, or of writing to authorities or of writing of war remembrances. Should it be desirable in other cases to use ink permission must be got from the commandant. The writing must be done in large and plain characters, and for letters and cards only the forms should be used obtainable in the canteen.

The correspondence with districts occupied by the German troops is subject to special conditions.

Incoming letters and parcels will be delivered daily at hours to be stated.

Parcels and boxes contained therein, especially the tin boxes must be opened and the contents laid open so that it may be recognized without doubt.

Receipts of parcels and money must be acknowledged. All money is rendered to the cash office in the camp, where the amounts are credited to the accounts of the prisoners.

20. Morning coffee is served at 8 A. M. in the rooms of the officers. At 12 dinner begins to be served, at 6 P. M. supper. A single stroke of the bell is the sign for the receipt of the meals from the kitchen. The lodgers of the barracks 6, 7, 8 and those officers who are destined especially by the officer in charge will dine in the dining-room of barrack No. 5. The question of the seats is regulated by the officer in charge. All the other officers take also their dinners and suppers in their rooms.

21. Except the time reserved for the meals the dining-room is open to be used by all officers.

22. If an officer wishes to buy an article which is not in the catalogue of the canteen and which consequently may not be sold, or if an officer wants to get his clothing repaired or renewed, he must hand a demand to the under-officer of his barrack who will pass this demand to the officer in charge. The purchase may only be done with the special permission of the officer in charge. If no other persons are allowed by the commandant to sell certain articles, *i.e.* booksellers, barbers, etc., the officers may buy these articles directly in accordance with the further notification of the officer in charge.

Letters written badly or illegibly are refused by the censors.

The dirty linen is collected and returned cleaned by an under-officer, specially designated for the purpose, with the assistance of an officer of each room according to special orders of the officer in charge. The cleaning is done at the expense of the owner. The manner of payment is regulated by the officer in charge.

23. The prisoners of war act against discipline if they buy anything in the kitchen or in the canteen or from other persons admitted to sell, which is not specially allowed for sale.

24. Intercourse with civilians admitted to the camp except for business reasons is prohibited.

25. The commandant's express permission must be obtained by any officer who wishes to obtain other food than that provided officially.

26. Every officer may subscribe to a paper permitted by the commandant. The under-officer of the barrack will make the necessary arrangements.

27. When the change of the towels is ordered every one has to hand personally the old towels to the under-officer of the barrack who is collecting them.

28. The orderlies in the camp are supervised by one or several officers, who are responsible for the cleanliness of the orderlies and examine the change of their linen. The officers have to hold a daily roll-call with the orderlies according to special instructions of the officer in charge, and to examine in the course of a week the cleanliness and condition of all clothing. If renewal or repairs should be necessary in the clothing of orderlies a notification in writing must be handed to the officer in charge.

29. Orderlies neglecting their duties must be reported to the officer in charge.

30. Notifications will be made known to the prisoners of war either verbally at roll call or in writing on the notice boards near the kitchen. The officers are required to acquaint themselves with them each day.

31. Complaints may be made verbally or in writing to the commandant, the officer in charge or the adjunct. 32. Any infringement upon the foregoing regulations will be punished disciplinarily by the commandant.

# APPENDIX C

#### (Translation)

## REGULATIONS OF PRISONER OF WAR CAMP AT SALZWEDEL

#### SECTION A

#### GENERAL, OFFICER AND CAMP DUTY

1. The prisoners' camp is under the command of a commandant and is made up of two battalions with the usual complement of officers, sanitary officers, officer-representatives of commandant, non-commissioned officers, interpreters and sanitary personnel. The battalions 1 and 2 have each four companies numbering 1 to 8.

2. The camp is situated on the road Salzwedel-Gr. Chuden, as shown on camp plan.

The camp is spaciously marked off into two battalion districts and each of the latter are divided into four company sections. The following come under the jurisdiction of District Battalion 1:

Sections of Companies 1-4, Kitchen 1, Prisoner canteen 1 and 2, Guard 3 (at the rear of the camp) and 2, Bath-houses, Garrison administration barracks, Office room barracks, Coal and utensil barracks, Hospital and corps barracks, Half of the ways used by the guards—of Guard 3. 281 To District Battalion 2 belong: Companies 5-8, Kitchen 2, Cuard 1 (main guard)

Guard 1 (main guard), Guard 4 (north side), Prisoner's canteens 3 and 4, Barracks for company held in readiness, Canteen for guardsmen, The other half of the ways used by the guards of Guard 3 and the entire district of Guard 4.

It is the duty of both battalions to keep the buildings, roads and fences within their respective districts in order and especially the latrines. The prisoners' barracks are to be numbered 7 to 48. The number must be black arabic on white background and each barrack shall bear the same number on all four sides.

The entrance gates to the company districts shall be numbered similarly in Roman numerals.

The office barracks of the companies are to be designated by letters A to H.

The position of all barracks may be seen on accompanying plan.

An officer will be detailed each day for camp duty by the commandant.

This service begins with that of the new guard at 1 P.M. and ends at the same time on the following day.

The officer detailed for duty reports at the beginning of his duty, without formality, at the office of the commandant.

He remains in the camp during the night also and sleeps in the main guard barracks; as soon as the officer's assembly room is completed, this is for his use. When leaving same, notice as to where he can be found shall be left by him.

Other obligations of the officer on duty in the camp are as follows:

1. He inspects guard and sentinels.

2a. He oversees and regulates assignments of detachments detailed to accompany prisoners.

2b. He controls work hours of the prisoners and sees that they keep the prescribed time.

3. He is responsible for general order in kitchens, canteen, bath houses and latrines of the companies.

4. He is responsible for keeping free the 10-metre space (neutral zone); vehicles are not allowed to stop there, nor objects of any kind to be deposited.

5. He sees that no misuse is made of entrance cards, and that all unauthorized persons entering the camp through either mistake of sentinel or his inattention to duty, are located, and personality established.

6. He observes the prisoners with view of determining whether there is any inclination to organize or to escape. In case of such, he reports to necessary measures (See Guard Regulations), and acts independently until the commandant or latter's representative assumes command.

7. He also sees that the gates and fences are in proper order and that there is sufficient illumination both within and outside the camp.

8. He takes the necessary steps in case of outbreak of fire (See Fire Regulations).

9. He sees that the roads inside and outside the camp are kept in good condition. The representative of the officer on camp duty is the officer of the Head Guard, so far as guard affairs are concerned. The officer on duty will be assisted by an officer from each of the battalions who will report for duty at the beginning of the guard duty for inner service and for a possible revision of the guardsmen. This officer will be further required to make a daily inspection of the prisoners' workshops.

10. He orders that taps will be blown at 10 o'clock P. M. following which all lights in the barracks are to be extinguished. Lights in the quarters of the companies can be put out earlier if desired.

Visit to the prisoner's camp is allowed only to the personnel, *i.e.*, to the officers, sanitary officers, acting officers, paymasters, N. C. O. men (and their superiors) of the Landstrum Reserve Battalion No. 6. All other persons, officers included, must have entrance card bearing name of owner, official stamp and signature of the commandant. This card must be shown upon entering and leaving the camp and at such other times as sentinels may see fit to request that it be shown. Entrance to courtyards of company barracks is forbidden, except to those authorized (prisoners, guard and company men) unless permission is obtained from the representative of General Headquarters. The entrance cards must bear the photograph of the owner.

Women are forbidden to enter the camp, except those employed in canteen and kitchens.

Persons found without identification cards or false papers will be at once taken to the guard house to have personality established (See Guard Regulations).

Visit to prisoners (also to those in hospital) is allowed only on permission from representative of General Headquarters. Offense against this regulation will be punished.

It is forbidden to photograph the camp or to make sketches.

#### SECTION B

## SERVICE WITHIN THE CAMP AND OCCUPATION OF PRISONERS

1. Prisoners come under our Martial Law. This fact is repeatedly brought to their attention in presence of an officer and is also posted on the walls of each barrack.

Disciplinary punishment is executed according to our *Disciplinary Punishment Regulations* (Disziplinarstrafordnung, Par. 2, sec. 4 and par. 38).

Strict discipline among the prisoners is to be enforced by using all legitimate means. Every infringement against orders and rules of the camp shall be brought to attention of the authorities as soon as possible and punished with severity. In place of arrest, the offender will be bound to some place where he will be plainly visible. Light offenses may be punished by increasing a disagreeable occupation and extension of working time. Withdrawal of bread and tobacco also appears to be a good means of punishment. In addition to these punishments, in the case of English prisoners, withdrawal of playing cards is recommended.

2. Prisoners, including civilians, are formed into squads within the companies and are placed under command of a corporal. The squad commanders (prisoner N. C. O.'s) are chosen from among the prisoners (N. C. O. and men) by the company commander. Their distinguishing mark is a band of white linen 5 cm. wide, around the cap. It is a part of their duty to maintain order and discipline. In each section of the barracks the senior prisoner sergeant is placed on duty for the same purpose; his distinguishing mark is a band of white linen 10 cm. wide, on the cap.

The superintending personnel is assisted by interpreters who bear a stripe of linen running over the crown of the cap.

The prisoner non-commissioned officers and sergeants are the superiors of the prisoners. The latter are made fully acquainted with this relation and the instruction is based on authentic regulations.

Further, there is posted in each barrack a list of the superiors in the language of the prisoners concerned.

Prisoners, including civilian prisoners, must salute all officers, substitute officers and non-commissioned officers.

When an officer or substitute officer enters a barrack all prisoners have to stand at attention by their beds, facing the center aisle. Prisoners detailed for work or marching in closed formations are not required to salute.

3. Prisoners of various nationalities are placed in the same barracks; Russians are mixed with English and French, Turks and Zuaves are sent to the Camp at Zossen.

4. Each company contains 1875 prisoners.

5. The prisoners bear a number on a tin tag which is attached in front of the cap; civilian prisoners have a linen band firmly sewed on the upper arm.

6. Regulations and rules within the barracks are regulated by the battalions. These are issued in the form of barrack orders. A list of all utensils used in the barracks is posted on the wall.

7. The battalions keep a correct list of all prisoners turned over to them from which can be determined at any time the total number of prisoners on hand, also any increase or decrease, and dates.

8. The battalions must furnish a daily statement to the commandant showing the number of prisoners on preceding days.

The roll of prisoners will be called at least once daily within each company, following which instructions will be given regarding camp regulations, military bearing of prisoners, etc. Those prisoners not detailed for work are to be constantly employed at hard labor.

9. A part of barracks 19 will be fitted up as a tailor and shoe-maker's workshop.

10. Immediately after the arrival of new prisoners, the commandant will be informed as to the total number, nationality and regiments to which they belong. As soon as practicable, list of prisoners' names will be made out.

11. Money and valuables (booty) as to rightful possession of which prisoners cannot give satisfactory evidence, will be turned over to the commandant, likewise money of all kinds.

12. Gold (foreign and German) will be exchanged for paper money. Prisoners will be given receipt for all money and valuables taken from them; the receipts must show as exactly as possible the kind of money (gold, silver, paper); day on which transfer is made will also be shown on receipt in order to establish rate of exchange.

13. To meet allowed necessities, prisoners will be permitted from time to time to draw small amounts against their account for which they will give receipts.

14. Weapons, ammunition, dangerous tools (knives and fireproducing implements), also steel springs and nails, will be taken from prisoners upon arrival at camp.

15. All clothing which would assist escape will be taken from prisoners and receipt given for same. Prisoners are obliged to furnish statement in writing that they have turned over such articles.

16. Prisoners and all other persons are forbidden to smoke in the barracks.

17. Prisoners are forbidden to leave barracks without proper head covering.

18. Particular attention shall be given to regulations regarding disposition of refuse, rubbish, food-leavings, paper, etc., and ashes. The latter shall be deposited in places especially provided for the purpose within each company district, in kitchens and guard bonses. It is forbidden to throw objects and fluids out of barrack windows.

The battalions have to arrange with the garrison administrative authorities direct for the timely removal of all rubbish, refuse, etc. 19. Cleanliness and order around water taps shall be especially enforced. In cold weather waterpipes and taps shall be protected by straw or excelsior.

20. Prisoners shall attend to their necessities of nature at the proper places and with great cleanliness.

21. Communications between prisoners of different companies through fences, and visits to neighboring barracks are forbidden.

22. Concerning washing and drying of same, each barrack will issue special rules according to construction of barrack.

23. Two non-commissioned officers will be detailed each day for service in the camp (day and night). For the present they will sleep in the harracks of the emergency company. Service of the superintending personnel will be regulated by the battalion.

24. Bread will be received by a sergeant specially designated by the battalion, by whom it will subsequently be distributed to the companies.

25. Coal and other fire material will be received by the garrison administrative authorities. Battalions shall make arrangements with former for delivery of such material, which will be brought by the prisoners to company districts. Stoves will be run by prisoners under supervision of the company.

26. Turning on and off of electric lights will be done by the companies with keys furnished them for the purpose. In case electric light apparatus does not function, petroleum safety lamps will immediately be placed on the camp fences. The lamps are temporarily distributed as follows:

In the principal guard and guard No. 3, each 40 lamps; in guards Nos. 2 and 4, each 30; and in the emergency company, 10 lamps. The guard is responsible for the distribution. All lights in the barracks are to be extinguished at 10 o'clock P. M.

27. Cases of death will be reported by the battalions (respective hospitals) as soon as possible to the commandant, giving exact details, including full name, occupation or profession, religion, names of parents, last residence in native country, time and cause of death.

28. Concerning delivery of food, see section C.

29. Post regulations will be found in section F.

30. Instructions for keeping lavatories clean will be found in section G.

31. Property of dead prisoners of war, also that of unidentified persons, will be turned over by the battalion (respectively the hospital) to the commandant who will deposit it for safe keeping with the General War Treasury.

## SECTION C

PROVISIONS FOR PRISONERS' KITCHENS AND CANTEENS

1. The feeding of prisoners is governed by regulations of the War Office, respectively the representatives of the General Headquarters of the IV A. C.

2. The operation of the kitchens is invested in a kitchen commission who comply with local conditions and manage the kitchens in accordance with regulations issued by the local civilian authorities.

3. Constant attention shall be given to the proper number of calories of the food, also the albumen contents and carbohydrates.

4. The chief surgeon of the hospital shall be a member of the kitchen commission.

5. The kitchen contractor is forbidden to sell food to prisoners or other individuals. The following are exceptions: Hospital patients, prisoner priests and physicians, provided permission is obtained from the commandant.

6. A certain number of prisoners are detailed for kitchen work peeling potatoes, etc. The number detailed is about 1 per cent. of the number of prisoners for whom the kitchen supplies food. Order and discipline are maintained in each kitchen by a sentinel. (See Guard Regulations).
7. Prisoners take all meals within their respective barracks.

7. Prisoners take all meals within their respective barracks. Food, coffee, etc., are taken from kitchen to barracks in buckets and there distributed among prisoners under the supervision of the barrack superintending personnel. The strictest attention should be given to the proper serving of meals; for instance that prisoners do not use their wash basins as eating plates. 8. Meal times are regulated by the battalions. For prisoners who return from work later, meals are reserved.

9. There are five canteens within the camp; viz., 1 soldier's canteen for camp personnel, guards, emergency company, mechanics working within the camp, and 4 canteens for the prisoners.

Contracts with canteen owners are made by the commandant.

10. The supervision of prisoner canteens Nos. 1 and 2 is vested in Battalion No. 1; that of prisoner canteens Nos. 3 and 4, and soldiers' canteen in Battalion No. 2. For this purpose each battalion has a canteen commission consisting of a captain, 1 substitute officer and 1 non-commissioned officer.

11. All goods for sale in canteens shall bear prices plainly visible.

12. Prisoners' canteens are closed at 7 o'clock P. M.

#### SECTION D

# Occupation of Prisoners and Service of Accompanying Guard

1. The fundamental principles are contained in War Office Order September 22nd, 1914, No. 471/9.14, U. I.

The principle work of prisoners is confined within the camp, constructing roads and ways and keeping camp in good condition generally.

In detailing prisoners for work, consideration is taken for their profession or calling, physical capacity, strength and condition of health. Prisoners shall not be compelled to do work of a criminal, but shall be employed. Strict observance of orders and obedience to same will, however, be insisted upon.

2. For the various places where work is to be performed, the required number of workmen will report to the commandant up to 10 o'clock for work to be assigned for the following day; the workmen will then be distributed among the battalions.

3. Working hours will be adjusted by commandant's order according to the time of year and local conditions.

4. The accompanying guard will be under orders of the officer on camp duty, *i.e.*, officer of the guard. This guard will be made up of men taken from the Reserve Guard and emergency company. The strength of the accompanying guard will be determined by the commandant.

To every 20 to 25 men of the guard, a non-commissioned officer will be detailed. All guardsmen will be armed with rifles (9 cartridges each) and fixed bayonets. The guard commander will decide whether rifles shall be carried thrown over the shoulder or under the arm.

The strength of the accompanying guard will generally be 10 per cent. of the number of prisoner workmen. In cases where workmen are widely distributed and where terrain is very uneven, the guard strength can be increased to 15 per cent.

Workmen employed in closed rooms and within camp can be watched by a guard of less than 10 per cent. One guard will be sufficient to watch four prisoners (outside of camp, two guards).

On the march and during employment the guard will be so distributed that the prisoners will be continually in sight. If a prisoner makes an attempt to escape, the guard shall immediately shoot.

6. The guard shall see that the prisoners work conscientiously. Tools and utensils shall be locked up in utensil shed after work. Keys to latter are kept at head guard-house.

7. A guard leader will be detailed for each accompanying duty; he is responsible for the watch over prisoners.

8. Any intercourse between prisoners and public will not be tolerated. The public are to be kept away from prisoners at all times on the march as well as during work.

Prisoners detailed for kitchen work will be watched by one guard to each prisoner. Guards on this duty will be relieved every two hours. (See Regulations.) When prisoners are being transported through a city or town, the guards' strength will be 15 per cent. and shall be commanded by a capable leader.

9. Guardsmen are forbidden to smoke, to sit, to converse with prisoners or to enter into communication with them of any nature whatever. Neither shall they take letters or perform any commissions for prisoners.

Their attitude towards the prisoners shall be such that the latter will not forget they are prisoners and that the guardsmen are their superiors. The acceptance of gifts by guardsmen is severely punished.

## SECTION E

#### SANITARY SERVICE

1. The entire sanitary service is under the direction of the chief surgeon. The complete sanitary personnel, both German and foreign, are subject to his orders.

2. The sanitary service is performed in the sanitary barracks according to orders of the chief surgeon. It begins at 10 o'clock  $\triangle$ . M. The patients of each company follow at intervals of fifteen minutes. The order of companies changes daily.

3. The patients of each company are conducted to and from the sanitary barracks in closed squads. Each squad is accompanied by an interpreter and one of their own company's sanitary men.

4. In order to establish a uniform service regarding acceptance discharging and dieting of sick prisoners, the following features are adhered to:

- a. After taking their noon meal, 12:30 o'clock, the patients are conducted to the hospital barracks where they take their evening meal at the proper time; they remain there until time for noon meal next day.
- b. Supplying patients with bread is a function of the various companies.
- c. Regulations concerning feeding of sick prisoners in hospital barracks follow later.

5. According to needs of the chief surgeon, men will be detailed by the battalions from among prisoners to assist him as clerks, etc.

6. The same regulations regarding entrance to the camp apply to access to hospitals.

7. Personnel for running bathing and heating apparatus in hospital barracks will never consist of German soldiers, but suitable men selected from prisoners.

8. The chief surgeon will keep the commandant continually informed regarding health conditions in the camp.

9. A suitable non-commissioned officer (German) assisted by two capable prisoners will be detailed to oversee bathing and disinfecting.

10. Prisoners' baths and disinfecting of clothing, etc., will take place weekly. The bath schedule will be made known each Saturday for the following week. One battalion will have the hours 8 to 12 A. M. and the other battalion the hours 1 to 6 P. M.

Thirty-six men can bathe at one time. Duration of bath is thirty minutes. Accordingly 200 men can bathe in the morning and 250 in the afternoon. After one disinfection has been made, these numbers can be somewhat increased.

Smuggling of food, tobacco, etc., to prisoners in hospitals is forbidden; also smuggling out of letters and cards of prisoners is likewise forbidden. All prisoner sanitary officers, sanitary personnel, and sick must give their letters and cards personally to the non-commissioned officer of their respective company.

#### SECTION F

#### POSTAL SERVICE FOR PRISONERS

' 1. Postal communications to and from foreign countries will be sent through neutral countries, viz.:

To and from France, over Switzerland.

To and from England and Belgium, over Holland.

To and from Russia, over Sweden.

2. All communications will be left unsealed. Letters, cards, packages must undergo examination by censors, the latter consisting of one substitute officer and several interpreters. Communications ready to be forwarded will bear stamp of censorship.

3. To facilitate quick control and work of censors, a uniform card prescribed by the commandant, will be used by the prisoners. These cards can be purchased from company noncommissioned officers for the price of one pfennig each (See par. 12).

4. Contents of post card must he limited to personal affairs of the writer (prisoner).

5. Postal money orders intended for receivers in France must he sent on special form for foreign money orders, hearing address of Head Post Office, Bern (Switzerland) on front side, and address of receiver of money on the back, plainly written. Likewise for money orders intended for England, respectively Royal Head Post Office, Gravenhagen, Holland.

In place of a postage stamp, the card should hear the words: Prisoners Communications-Postage free.

6. The following will be forwarded free of charge:

A. To foreign countries :---

- 1. Letters with exception of C. O. D. communication.
- 2. Letters and parcels with value, but not C. O. D.
- 3. Money orders.
- 4. Postal packages up to 5 kilos. (11 lbs.) C. O. D.

B. To points within Germany:---

1. Ordinary letters weighing up to 50 gr. including ordinary postcards.

All other use of postal service is subject to usual charges. 7. Prisoners are not allowed the use of telephone or telegraph.

8. In order to prevent congestion in office of censors, and delay in delivery, prisoners 2 letters and 4 cards each month. Cards must he plainly written and in good sized handwriting.

9. Letters and cards must be written with lead pencil or copying ink-pencil—never with pen or ink. Ink, pens, and all pointed objects which could serve as pens must he taken from prisoners. Searches for such objects must be frequently made among the prisoners,

10. Packages for prisoners of foreign origin will be handed over to the battalions by one of the commandant's orderlies. Packages will then be opened by the companies in presence of owners and thoroughly examined in search of forbidden objects (combustibles, knives, weapons, steel pens, etc.). Any communications found in packages will be sent to the commandant, after seeing that exact address of owner is attached. Such letters will then go to the censor.

Receipts for money orders will be strictly controlled and stamped in office of the commandant before being turned over to the battalions.

11. Letters, registered letters and money orders arriving for prisoners will be called for at post office by an orderly and taken to censorship office for examination.

Receipts for money orders will be strictly controlled and stamped in office of the commandant before being turned over to the battalions.

12. To facilitate quick delivery to prisoners, a French and Russian non-commissioned officer will be assigned for duty with each company. These bear a designating mark on right arm consisting of a yellow band. They distribute mail matter under supervision of a post office personnel. To further facilitate quick delivery, each senior prisoner in each barrack has to keep a correct alphabetical list.

13. Post cards for the prisoners are collected by the company post non-commissioned officer and turned over to respective companies from where they go to censorship office.

14. Cards from prisoners will be sent off ten days after they have been written.

15. Letters bearing postage stamps will be retained for removal of latter in search for secret communications.

16. Prisoners are continually advised to request their relatives when writing to always put company and number on all communications.

17. Prisoners are strictly forbidden to attempt to forward letters through channels other than those prescribed.

18. Prisoners shall use prescribed forms of letters and postcards.

19. Prisoners shall be fully instructed concerning these regulations.

## SECTION G

#### REGULATIONS CONCERNING CLEANING AND DISINFECTION OF WATER-CLOSETS

1. The latrines of the camp are connected with the local sewer system.

2. It is strictly forbidden to throw any hard substances or articles of clothing into the latrine trenches.

3. The solid excrements must not be raked into the canal. The former will be removed once daily.

4. The draining off of the latrine trenches is done under the supervision of a non-commissioned officer.

5. A barrel of burnt lime (protected against moisture) will be placed near each water-closet.

A scoop and bucket for measuring the lime will also be provided.

6. Each morning and evening a mixture of lime and water (one part lime and four parts water), thoroughly mixed, will be evenly spread over the contents of the trench and then, by using a suitable wooden instrument, mixed with the excrements.

7. The seats and floors of the water-closets are also to be cleaned at least once daily, using the same mixture of lime and water; for this purpose a straw broom is used. Paper and other refuse scattered about shall be removed.

8. As long as the supply of chloride of lime, slacked lime and creosol soap solution (latter for cleaning seats) lasts, these may be used for cleaning purposes.

9. A good supply of paper shall be provided in each watercloset.

10. The garrison administration is responsible for carrying out of these regulations.

11. The work as prescribed in pars. 6 and 7 will be done by prisoners under supervision of prisoner sanitary personnel.

# APPENDIX D

#### CAMP REGULATIONS OF THE CAMP FOR PRIS-ONERS OF WAR AT DARMSTADT

1. DIVISION OF PRISONERS.

The prisoners of war are divided into five battalions of 2000 men each. Each battalion consists of four companies of 500 men each. The company is divided into four platoons, and these are divided into corporal squads. The companies are commanded by an Offiziersstellvertreter respectively Vize-Feldwebel. The platoons are headed by French adjutants, the corporal squads by non-commissioned officers prisoners of war.

From the ranks of Landstrum-Ersatz-Infanterie-Battalion I three orderlies are to be placed at the disposal of each battalion chief, and one non-commissioned officer at the disposal of the captain of each company.

Non-commissioned officers prisoners of war remain the superiors of fellow prisoners of their nationality.

2. CHARACTERISATION OF CIVIL PRISONERS.

Civil prisoners wear yellow bands on both arms with the imprint: "Prisoner of war," and wooden shoes showing the company number and the number of the prisoner.

3. MILITARY SALUTE.

Regulations regarding military salute are displayed on placards in all barracks.

4. DIVISION OF SERVICE.

6:00 A. M. Reveille, making of beds, toilet, cleaning of quarters.

6:45 A. M. Distribution of breakfast, company roll call, on

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the sembly grounds under inspection of the non-commis-

# NOTE

ON ACCOUNT of the absence of the author in Russia for an undetermined period, and the lack of his personal attention to the proofreading, many errors have crept into the text. This was also in part due to the publication being under stress. The paragraph on the middle of page 128, concerning officers, is out of place and belongs at the end of the chapter.

The following substitutions and corrections in the proof should have been made:

		service. The
P. 55, Line 26,	"Metres" for "feet".	the individ-
P. 95, Line 15,	Omit "colonel".	the labour-
P. 100, Line 17,	"Cited" for "sited".	vilians cloth-
P. 106, Line 26,	"Cottbus," for "Cottbas".	eturn, as to
P. 109, Line 31,	Insert "from" at beginning of line.	After their
P. 119, Line 15,	"Blinding" for "binding".	camp officer,
P. 129, Line 27,	"Would" for "will".	close file to
P. 130, Line 23,	"Maxim" for "Maximum".	the coal-door
P. 163, Line 8,	Paragraph heading, "Industrial" for "Industrious".	keep books
P. 166, Line 24,	Substitute "per cent" for "cents".	fied.
P. 204, Line 15,	"Ingolstadt" for "Ingaldstadt".	by the com-
P. 212, Line 18,	"Pfennigs" for "francs".	by the com-
P. 261, Line 15,	"D'oex" for "D'oux".	pattanons.
P. 267, Line 26,	"Burg-Frieden" for "Burger-	
	Frieden''	r work, and

7.00 P. M. Supper. 7.45 P. M. Evening roll-call and mustering by companies. 9.00 P. M. Bed time.

The prisonthe attends. The roll ng sick are roll call in

work on the camp officer ied in shifts kers is to be P. M. of the our company ards, of the oplication in to assemble s of the 3rd according to envice The ι., ..... 0  $\mathbf{r}$ r, 0 r s The non-commissioned officers prisoners of war may stay up in their compartment and burn a light until 10.00 P. M.

During the day no prisoner of war who has not received a card issued by the doctor may lie on a mattress.

All the barracks are to be kept closed after 9.00 P. M. If a prisoner desires to step out, he must rap on the door until opened by the sentry. During this time the door is to be closed again. More than three men may not leave at the same time. The sentry will not permit scantily dressed persons to pass. The barracks are to be aired out frequently, if possible during the noon hour.

The cuspidors in the barracks must always be filled with water and are to be emptied often into the closets. By placards attention is to be called to the fact that spitting is prohibited in the barracks.

5. THE COMPANY LEADERS.

The company leaders have to see to it that the room in the barracks is used to the best advantage; it should be observed in particular that the various nationalities be mixed. 250 prisoners are to be quartered in each barrack. 125 in each half barrack. The non-commissioned officers are to be divided among both company barracks, as well as the mechanics. Greatest order and cleanliness must be maintained in the company quarters, and this, as well as the constant repairing of cloth and the care of the body, are the main duty of the company leader.

Furthermore, the company leaders are responsible for punctual closing of the barracks.

Money taken from prisoners of war is to be delivered to the battalion-commanders.

The service of the company leader begins at 6.30 A. M. and lasts until 8.00 P. M. In case of the company-leader's absence, the non-commissioned officer is in charge. Concurrent absence of the company leader and the non-commissioned officer between 6.30 A. M. and 8.00 P. M. is forbidden. An alphabetical list of the prisoners is to be started and kept in order continuously in each company. The company leaders must employ competent non-commissioned squad officers as assistants so that they may use them in file or squad-leaders.

From time to time an unexpected examination of the prisoners for prohibited articles should be made.

Great stress should be laid upon the proper morning and evening roll-call, as well as upon the fact that at dusk all existing water-receptacles he filled and ready for use in case of fire.

The company leader must at all times carry his revolver with him in the prison camp.

One company leader to each battalion must remain in the prison camp at night.

6. THE BATTALION LEADERS.

The battalion leader's first duty is to supervise the company leader's services. He has to supervise the messing, the proper calling of the roll, the inspection of the barracks and kitchens, as well as the exact keeping of the books of the company. All half-barracks are to be inspected at irregular times. A list should be kept of these inspections showing the exact time at which each one took place.

The battalion leaders are to test the food in their kitchens daily; in exceptional cases they can appoint a substitute (company leader) who tests the morning and evening food. The result is to be recorded in the kitchen book.

The company hooks and list is to be inspected at least once a week by the battalion leader, and marks of inspection entered. The books are to be turned in at the commandant's office on the last day of each month, before 9.00  $\triangle$ . M.

The battalion leaders have charge of the money taken from the prisoners, and are personally responsible for the administration of these funds.

The battalion leaders have to see that the prisoners are instructed immediately after their arrival that they are under martial law. These instructions are to be repeated monthly. An extract of the rules of war in question are to be in the barracks.

7. POWER TO INFLICT PUNISHMENT.

The power to inflict penalties in the camp is vested in one of the battalion leaders. Slight infringement of the service regulations may be punished by the battalion leaders with rapport, penal service or the withholding of food. Records are kept of the punishments inflicted.

Every prisoner of war detected by the sentry in the committing of an offence, is to be reported to the battalion to which he belongs.

## 8. SANITARY SERVICE.

The camp-doctor is in charge of the medical service, an assistant (unterarst) is placed at his disposal.

The service in the quarter-barracks begins at 9.00 A.M. The sick are to be led forward in close file according to companies, viz.—Battalions I, II, III at 9 A.M. Battalion IV and V are 10.00 A.M. Sundays, the patients of Battalion IV and V are to be presented at 9.00 A.M. The bandages of the wounded are renewed at 11.00 A.M. Entrance into the quarters of the sick and wounded through door 2.

In the case of sudden and alarming illness, the French sanitary attendant is to be notified at once, who will then take further steps. If in such cases a doctor should be necessary, the physician in charge of the days service on the drilling-grounds whose residence will be found on the slate at barracks 70, is to be called.

The enclosure lying north of the quarter-barracks is for the exclusive use of the camp-physician.

9. FOOD.

One kitchen is intended for every two companies of prisoners of war. As the kitchen personnel in each kitchen, one non-commissioned officer, two men (butchers) are detailed from the Landstrum-Freatz-Battalion, and if necessary 6-8 prisoners. The potatoes are to be peeled by the prisoners. The food for the prisoners is distributed to them according to companies.

The non-commissioned officers in charge of the kitchen are required to make use of the entire amount of raw material turned over to them by the kitchen administration, the only exception from this rule being the fat of the part nearest the skin. The same may be used cooked for the midday meal of the following day. Bread will be received from the Provision Station Darmstadt. Aside from the daily bread ration of 500 grams no prisoner may receive bread without permission of the Kommandantur.

The men detailed to service in the prison camp have to receive bread from their companies.

10. KITCHEN ADMINISTRATION.

The following are transferred to the kitchen administration for the prisoners camp:---

One captain as chief. One captain as controlling officer One kitchen bookkeeper.

Besides the camp physician is assigned to the kitchen administration. The chief's duty is to provide the necessary food stuffs in a competent manner and in due time; and on each Tuesday is required to submit to the Commandant five copies of the menu for the following week. Alterations of the menu cannot be made afterwards without the consent of the commandant.

The duties of the controlling officer are to supervise the stocks, and to audit the books, of the kitchen.

#### EXAMINING STATION

The letter and parcel traffic of prisoners of war is subject to the control of the examining station. In the unpacking of packages prisoners are to be used as trustees. To restrict the letter traffic the regulation has been issued that prisoners may only write two letters a month and one card each week. The writing in the letters must not be too small, and the letters should not exceed four pages.

Before the mail is delivered to the examining station the company leaders are to see that on the designated days only the allowed number of letters is written by each man and that the words "Kriegage fangenen-sendung" and "Feldpostkarte" or "Brief" as well as the exact address of the sender (name with number of company and battalion) appear in their proper places.

Letters, etc., may only be written with lead or indelible pencils. Prisoners are forbidden to use ink and pen. From time to time a careful search of each prisoner for such articles should be made.

The guards are strictly prohibited from supplying the prisoners of war pens, penholders, ink and sharp articles with which one could write. This order should be brought to the attention at regular intervals together with the command that any request of the prisoners in the above direction is to be reported immediately.

The Commandant of the prison camp Darmstadt.

Kosack, General Major.

# APPENDIX E

#### (Translation)

# FIRE DRILL FOR THE PRISONERS OF WAR CAMP AT DARMSTADT

1. A fire company consisting of a foreman and twentyfour men shall be formed in every battalion of prisoners of war. The duties of these fire companies consist in extinguishing fires in the prison camp and prison hospital, assisting in emptying the burning buildings and aiding the wounded and those of the prisoners who are not able to walk.

It is therefore recommended that the fire companies be trained and organized into two units, one to act as rescuing party and the other to aid in extinguishing the flames.

2. The firemen will be chosen from among the ununiformed French prisoners of war and as a rule will be placed under the leadership of a French adjutant, who will also have a representative.

3. There will also be detailed from each battalion of prisoners two non-commissioned officers and twenty men, chosen as the others from the uniformed French prisoners; these will be detailed especially for a fire in the hospital and to assist in rescuing the sick.

4. The firemen of each battalion, as well as those mentioned in par. 3, are to be quartered in the same barrack and this building will be designated by a proper inscription in red lettering.

5. Each battalion will receive the following:

- a, One hydrant connection.
- b, Three lengths of fire hose, each 12.50 meters.
- c, A hose muzzle.
- d, Two hydrant keys.
- e. Forty-eight fire buckets.

f, Eight fire extinguishers (Perceo).

g, One axe.

h, Eighteen fire extinguishing brooms.

On all of these articles the number of the battalion is painted, and with the exception of the fire buckets and extinguishers, they are stored where easily accessible in the room of the company leader.

6. It is the duty of each battalion to keep their apparatus in good condition especially the hydrant, and to take care that the latter does not freeze in cold weather.

7. The location of the hydrants are designated by the letter H painted in red on the side of the building, the letter being on a line with the hydrant. Should the hydrant be in the middle of the street, a red H will be painted on the buildings on either side.

8. There shall be two fire drills monthly, one during the day time and one at night. These are conducted by the battalion leader, while a general drill of several battalions will be ordered by the Commandant of the camp.

The rescue parties detailed for the hospital will also be drilled in their work.

9. For immediate use in case of fire, three fire buckets filled with water and a fire-extinguishing broom will be placed in accessible places in each half barrack and for each two half barracks one fire-extinguisher will be supplied. Improper use of the buckets, brooms and other apparatus is forbidden: A notice in French to this effect will be posted in each barrack. Disobedience to this order will entail punishment.

10. Should a fire occur in a barrack, the French corporal will at once use the fire buckets and fire brooms and the French adjutant will employ the fire extinguishers. It is the duty of the corporals and adjutants of neighboring barracks to hasten to assist with similar appliances and all, in the interest of their comrades, to support the fire marshal.

11. The fire department of a battalion will report ready for

a, as soon as they learn of the outbreak of a fire

b, at the special call of the camp guard.

The firemen will assemble before the room of the company leader of their battalion with the necessary apparatus and await further commands.

Upon a fire occurring within his own section, the battalion leader will assume charge without further orders and will be supported by calling upon the adjoining section.

12. Should a fire occur in the hospital, the firemen detailed from the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, battalions and the rescue parties from all five of the battalions will report for duty.

They will promptly assemble in the central street of the camp in their own compounds and will be accompanied by a detail of the camp guard to the scene of the fire.

13. These fire companies are under the command of the officer having the duty of the camp and in his absence under the officer present who is the oldest in point of service. The rescue work at the hospital especially insofar as it concerns aiding the wounded, will be under the direction of the chief surgeon of the hospital.

The Commandant of the Prisoner of War Camp at Darmstadt.

Kosack General Major.

# APPENDIX F

#### (Translation)

## ORDER OF THE FIRE WATCH PRISONERS OF WAR CAMP, DARMSTADT

1. In case of fire the guard will be under the command of the officer on duty at the camp.

The duties of the guard will follow the details of the regulations for which he alone will be responsible.

2. If a fire is noticed by a sentry in the prison camp or in the hospital compound, he immediately announces it to

a. the camp guard

b. the officer having the duty at the camp.

3. The officer having the duty, or in his absence, the oldest in point of service, notifies the following by telephone:

- a. the commandant of the camp
- b. the commandant of the exercise ground for the troops stationed there.
- c. the officer of the Landstrum-reserve battalion
- d. the fire department of Darmstadt
- e. the fire department of Griesheim
- f. the Landstrum company lying in reserve in the barracks.
- g. orally the outer guard in the barracks at the troop exercise grounds by a messenger from the camp guard.

4. So long as it appears that the fire will limit itself to a barrack, especially in the prison camp, these messages can be held up and it also lies in the judgment of the responsible officer whether the fire department of Darmstadt and Griesheim, or only one of these, shall be summoned.

5. In the guard-house there shall be a list which contains 306

the telephone stations and the number of the barracks in which are:

- a. the fire department
- b. the rescue parties of the several prisoner of war battalions, and
- c. adjoining the telephone will be a list which contains the numbers of the three designated places.

6. If the guard gives an alarm of fire in the prison camp, he notifies the fire department of each battalion of prisoners and calls the guard to arms.

7. If it is a fire at night, it will be the duty of the nearby posts to immediately open the doors of the barracks in which the fire is, as well as those in a threatened position, and to gather the prisoners in the assembling place of the company.

The guard will next dispatch thirty men to the scene of the fire to guard the prisoners thus set free and to maintain order.

8. It is therefore understood that during a fire at night the doors of the barracks in general so long as they remain shut do not entail danger to the lives of those within. Therefore in a conflagration in the daytime the prisoners who are outside should be assembled in their living rooms to better maintain order and to lessen the service of the watch.

9. If the guard gives an alarm of fire in the hospital for the prisoners, he informs

a. The fire department

b. The rescue parties of the fire prisoner battalion.

The fire companies of the first four battalions and the rescue parties of all the battalions will assemble in the center street of the camp, within their own compounds, and will be conducted by a guard of thirty men to the scene of the fire. The fire department of the 5th battalion remains in readiness in the camp.

10. In all cases, the fire department will be under the command of the officer who has the camp duty, while the rescue parties, in case of a fire in the hospital, work under the direction of the chief surgeon.

11. All measures in which changes are necessitated by con-

ditions arising at a fire in order to bring about a closer watchfulness over the prisoners or to prevent danger, in so far as they are not provided for in this order, are left to the judgment and decision of the camp officer.

The Commandant of the Prisoner of war Camp at Darmstadt.

> Kosack. General-Major.

# APPENDIX G

# **REGULATIONS OF BARRACKS**

1. Smoking in the building and any fire except in the stove within the barracks are strictly forbidden.

It is also forhidden to enter the barrack with a cigar, cigarettes or pipe in the hand or the mouth, whether the cigar, etc., is lighted or not.

The heating of the stoves will be done by those detailed for this duty, under the direction of the senior in the barrack.

Cooking upon the stoves is forbidden.

2. With the exception of the straw mattresses and pillows no straw is to be permitted in the rooms.

3. In the morning the straw mattresses must be turned up towards the head and the bed-covers placed between.

4. The gangways and steps must be scrupulously clean and free from obstacles.

5. The wash-tubs in the wash house are to be used only for the washing of clothes.

6. Nuisances must not be committed throughout the camp.

7. The remains of food are to be placed in receptacles designated for this purpose.

Wash water, etc., is to be emptied into the drains and should not be thrown in the streets or around the buildings.

8. From nine o'clock on, prisoners of war are only to visit the latrines by the nearest path.

Prisoners of war who after nine o'clock, without any valid excuse and without being accompanied by one of the post are seen in a court, near the fences or on the roof or other elevation, will be shot.

9. The lights outside of the buildings are only to be turned on or off by the guard. Inside the barracks the turning on and off of the electric lights is to be done at the direction of the senior.

10. The possession of matches or any mechanism for making fire is strictly forbidden the prisoners. In the courts without the buildings, smoking is permitted and there matches are to be had.

11. Doors or windows which are closed by the guard are not to be opened by the prisoners of war.

12. The compound of the guard is not to be entered by the prisoner of war.

13. Damaging windows, doors and mess gear, as well as defacing the walls will be punished, and the expense of repairing such damage will have to be borne by the men of the room.

14. Mess gear and wash basins must be clean and must be kept in their designated places.

15. From nine o'clock on absolute quiet must prevail in the compound. Every prisoner of war must be in his designated place.

16. All prisoners of war owe allegiance to the German guard and the privates among the prisoners to their own noncommissioned officers. Members of the guard post and patrols are the seniors of every prisoner of war. Disobedience will be punished according to the German Laws of War and every prisoner of war will be punished who in any manner shouts at any post, sentry or patrol, and will be immediately arrested.

17. All prisoner of war adjutants, non-commissioned officers and privates salute

- 1. All officers, including Feldwebelleutants;
- 2. All officer representatives (the senior officer of the large watch, interpreters, etc.)
- 3. The Vizefeldwebel on duty on his first rounds every day and all corporals and privates have also to salute always the officers of the watch and the remaining officers on their first rounds each day.

18. Every sick prisoner of war must announce himself to bis company leader in the morning, who will immediately notify the adjustant on duty. 19. No prisoner of war may have in his possession more than 25 Marks. Any sum in excess of this amount must be given over at the proper office for safe keeping, where an account will be kept. French money will only be changed by the pay master.

20. Infractions against these regulations, or any one of them, will entail severe punishment on all prisoners of war.

## APPENDIX H

## REGULATIONS FOR THE SICK AT THE HOSPITAL FOR PRISONERS OF WAR AT DARMSTADT

I

Each patient must occupy only the bed allotted to him.

### п

His state of health permitting it, the patient must make his bed on rising in the morning.

#### III

Nobody is allowed to lie on the bed with his clothes on.

#### IV

Daily each patient has to wash himself, comb his hair and clean his teeth at a place appointed for this purpose; all necessaries will be supplied. Patients needing assistance will receive it from the attendants.

#### V

Only patients being confined to bed and being seriously ill are allowed to use pots and night-stools during the day; other patients must go to the lavatory and also empty their pots at the appointed place in the morning.

#### VI

Cleanliness of the rooms is an absolute necessity in the interest of patients. The walls of the rooms and the utensils must not be damaged or soiled, and it is prohibited to spit on the floor.

## VII

Patients are not allowed to visit other rooms or the kitchen without a special permit.

## VIII

As soon as a medical officer, officer or superior official enters the room, those patients who are not confined to bed, have to stand at attention at the foot of their beds.

#### IX

Smoking is prohibited.

#### х

Patients diet will be noted on a board at the head of his bed. In case of a patient having to make a complaint about his diet, he has to apply to the medical officer in attendance.

#### XI

No patient is allowed to let another patient partake of his meals or drinks, what is not consumed by him, must be handed to the attendants.

#### XII

It is strictly prohibited to talk through the windows, to spit or to throw things through them and they must not be soiled.

#### $\mathbf{XIII}$

Patients must be in bed in winter time at 9 P.M., in summer time at 10 P.M.

## XIV

Patients have to behave themselves quietly at the hospital. Doors have to be opened and closed gently. Towards the staff a respectful behaviour is required.

#### XV

All prisoners of war are under German martial law.

#### XVI

Letters written by prisoners of war are to be handed by them, open, to the non-commissioned officer appointed for that purpose by the hospital authorities. Letters addressed to prisoners of war will be opened and handed to them.

DARMSTADT, 17th, September 1914.

The Chief Medical Officer: DR.----

## RULES FOR THE SICK IN MILITARY HOSPITALS

1. No patient can make use of any bed except the one assigned to him.

2. On rising each patient has to make his bed should his state of health permit it.

3. No one should lie on the bed with his clothes on.

4. Each patient is obliged to wash himself, to comb his hair and to rinse his mouth every day. The place appointed for this purpose will be shown him and the necessary means supplied. Should the patient be unable to perform these services for himself, he will be assisted by the infirmarian.

5. Only patients obliged to keep to bed and unable to get up are allowed to use the bed-urinal or the commode in the day time. All others must go to the W. C. With the exception of non-commissioned officers all patients not seriously ill must themselves every morning empty their night vessels or bed-urinals in the place appointed for this purpose.

6. As the cleanliness of the ward is necessary for the welfare of the patients all orders given for this purpose must be strictly observed. It is forbidden to damage the walls or anything in the ward or to write thereon. It is likewise forbidden to spit on the floor or to deposit filth on it.

7. No patient is allowed without permission to enter another ward or the kitchen.

8. Whenever an officer or a military doctor enters the ward all patients, except those who are obliged to keep to bed, should place themselves in a standing position at the lower end of their beds.

9. The dietary for the patients will be indicated on the eard placed over the head of the bed. If a patient has any objection or complaint to make with regard to the food, he should apply to the doctor who has charge of him.

10. No patient should give his food or drink to another patient or make any exchange. If there is anything left it should be handed over to the infirmarian. It is forbidden to receive any eatables from the outside.

11. It is not allowed to speak from the window, to spit or to throw anything whatever through it. It is also forbidden to commit nuisances either in the yard or in the garden.

12. All patients must be in bed at the latest in summer time at 10 c'clock and in winter at 9.

13. No patient can leave the hospital without the permission of the head doctor.

14. All patients are bound to behave properly especially to avoid making noise and to open and close doors gently. They should be courteous and polite towards the hospital officials.

15. Smoking is forbidden in the rooms and in the W. C. LIMBURG, LAHN.

# APPENDIX I

(Translation)

ARMEE FEDERALE General Staff. SURGEON GENERAL Quartier-general, January 25th, 1916.

## ORGANIZATION OF INTERNMENT OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED PRISONERS OF WAR IN SWITZERLAND

## I. DIRECTION. (Management)

1. The Surgeon General of the Army and the Army Medical Service will have charge of the internment; the Surgeon General of the Army is responsible to the "Department politique." A control bureau will be organized in the Army Medical Service for the control of everything to do with the Interned.

2. The Surgeon General will designate a certain number of districts. At the head of each of these districts the Surgeon General will appoint a directing medical officer, who will be responsible to him for all matters concerning the internment in his district. The directing officers will establish a list of all the interned in their district.

3. The district medical officers will appoint for each locality occupied by the interned a "chief de secteur" selected from the interned under officers; he will choose as far as possible, the highest in rank, if his health permits. If the "secteur" and the district conflict—are identical, etc., there will be no need of appointing a "chief de secteur."

4. The directing medical officers will designate for each establishment occupied by a group or detachment of interned (hotel pension, sanitorium) a chief of establishment (an interned under officer, the highest in rank whose health permits). The chief of the establishment will appoint for each room occupied by several interned, a chief or captain of the room, or for each floor a captain of the floor.

5. The ranking interned officer of the secteur is responsible for his men ("comarades") to the directing medical officer.

6. As an assistant for the arrangements with the proprietors of establishments (proprietors of hotels, pensions, sanitoria, etc.) the Surgeon General of the Army has appointed Captain Dr. Schwyzer, of the Sanitary Corps.

## II. MEDICAL TREATMENT

7. The medical directors will appoint the necessary physicians for the treatment of the interned, choosing by preference the military surgeons living in the place.

8. The medical treatment of the interned will be established on the same principles as those in use for our own (Swiss) soldiers.

## III. Administration

9. The Commissary General of the Army will appoint a quartermaster for the central administration.

10. He will assign to each directing medical officer an accountant whose duty it will be to administer the district. The employe of the bureau and other necessary orderlies will be chosen, as far as possible, from amongst the interned, each in his turn. If amongst the interned there are none to fill these functions the directing medical officer will apply to the Surgeon General.

11. Special regulations will be put in force for administration.

## IV. LODGING AND SUBSISTENCE

12. The distribution of lodgings and subsistence should be as uniform and equal as possible; two classes will be formed; (a) officers, (b) under officers and privates. As far as possible, the under officers in lodgings and food will be treated the same as the privates.

## V. CLOTHING

13. The interned will receive from their respective Governments uniforms, including shirts, underclothes and shoes, (a pair of socks, a pair of slippers per man), in addition to which the tuberculous will have a right to a woolen blanket. To obtain these clothes the directing medical officers will apply to the Surgeon General of the Army for as much of the latter as has not been supplied.

14. The directing sanitary officers will take the necessary measures to keep proper clothing supplied, for the laundry of linen, etc.

## VI. Pay

15. The pay will be distributed the 10th, 20th, and the last day of each month, after an agreement has been established by the country of origin of the interned.

## VII. DISCIPLINE

16. Concerning discipline in general, the regulations of the Swiss Army will obtain. Concerning the attitude of the interned towards each other, and the various ranks, (honors to be rendered, etc.) the regulations of the particular foreign service concerned will be observed.

17. The country of origin of the interned engages to return to Switzerland all fugitives. Switzerland reserves the power to use the military force to guard the interned. The maintenance of order and tranquility in the districts occupied by the interned is the right of the cantonal authorities.

18. For the military discipline, the chiefs of the secteurs are responsible to the directing medical officers, the captains of the establishments to the chiefs of secteurs, the captains of the rooms and floors to the captains of the establishments.

19. For the medical discipline, the attending physicians are responsible to the directing medical officers, and the personnel employed in treatment and the chiefs of the establishments to the attending physicians.

20. The disciplinary measures to be applied will be reprimand, confinement to bed, serious notice, and finally the return of the interned to the country where he was retained as a prisoner.

21. The interned will not be permitted to leave the secteur to which they have been assigned without the permission of the directing medical officer. 22. The directing medical officer will establish for each establishment a house rule and an order of the day. In this relation they will consider the mental and physical exercise of the interned. (Lectures, religious services, plays, promenades, excursions, etc.) For the spiritual side the clergy of the neighborhood should be requisitioned; where for any reason this is impossible, I ought to be advised.

23. The frequentation of public places before dinner is expressly forbidden, at other times this may be authorized, except up to a certain point under control of the directing medical officer.

24. For damages and breakages which are produced in the establishments, those who are to blame will be held responsible to make payment from their pay, or from personal funds if this does not suffice.

## VIII. RELATIONS WITH RELATIVES

25. Correspondence between the interned and their relatives is authorized.

26. The relatives of the interned are authorized to reside in their vicinity; meanwhile the collaboration of the relatives in the treatment of the gravely ill, or the care given exclusively to the same will be permitted only in exceptional cases, when these should be in the same establishment or in its immediate vicinity. The extra expenses will have to be borne by the relatives of the interned.

### IX. Post

27. The interned will pay for their correspondence in Switzerland and with their own country (Treaty of Rome, Art. II.). The chiefs of the secteurs will place at the disposal of the local civil post office the necessary postal assistants, taking into consideration the number of interned. Each postal assistant ought to possess a card (FORM post of camp 25a) which the directing medical officer should procure. In case the office of postal assistant cannot be filled by an interned, this should be reported to the Surgeon General in the regulation way. The postal assistant will collect and deliver the correspondence to the civil post office. 28. As soon as each interned arrives at the place of internment he will receive a post office card (after the formula F. P. D. No. 129/130) which he will forward to his nearest relatives so that they may be satisfied of his condition and likewise have knowledge of the address of the interned.

#### X. Complaints

29. Complaints should be addressed to the captain of the room, orally or in writing, and by him transmitted higher through the service (chef d'establissement, chef de secteur, directing medical officer).

30. At each payment of compensation the interned should be asked if they have any complaints to formulate.

#### XI. REPORTS

31. The chiefs of establishments the medical officers and the Sanitary Service of the Army will keep a list of the interned. Instead of a "Controle des hommes," the directing medical officers and the Sanitary Service of the Army will be able to establish a list by card index.

32. The registry of the sick, the histories of the patients, with temperature charts, are to be kept by the attending physician. Eventually the medical history of the patient anterior to his internment in Switzerland, together with whatever the patient may have in his possession, will be sent to me after the attending physician has made whatever use of them may be necessary.

33. The listing of rooms and of beds is left to the directing medical officer.

34. Every evening at an hour to be determined by the directing medical officer, the captain of the rooms, or of the floors, will make an inspection and report it to the "chef d'establissement." He will make a report, "Rapport des malades," will be transmitted the same evening by a messenger or by the mail to the directing medical officer. He will condense these reports and send his completed report to the Surgeon General of the Army.

35. In case of special occurrences (escapes, etc.), the direct-

ing medical officer is to be notified, either by telegraph or telephone.

36. In case of grave illness or acute exacerbations, and in cases where it is not possible to carry out an appropriate treatment in the same establishment, the interned will be evacuated to a hospital where better care and treatment can be secured. The case in question if a fatal outcome should supervene, is to be reported immediately to the attending physician.

37. The renewal of forms of reports can be effected through the medical Service of the Army.

38. I reserve to myself alone the right to change any of these rules.

39. The directing medical officers are responsible to me for everything included under the present rules of organization, as well as the previous rules and the order of the day under No. 19, previously communicated to all the interned.

40. For any restrictions not included in the present rules, the regulations in Switzerland covering the same conditions will be alone taken into consideration.

The Surgeon General of the Army COLONEL HAUSER.

FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF THE FOLLOWING:

Department politique.

Department militaire.

General.

Chef d'etat-major general.

Sections de l'etat-major de l'armee.

Representants des pays d'origins des internes.

Medecin chef de la Croix rouge.

Chef du service des transports.

Directeur militaire des chemins de fer.

Chef d'exploitation principal des C. F. F.

Directeur de la poste de campagne.

Direction generale des postes.

Chef du telegraphe de l'armee.

Governements cantonaux interesses.

Medecin chef territorial pour lui et pour transmettre au service territorial.

# APPENDIX J

### (Translation)

## LIST OF DISEASES, LESIONS AND RESULTS OF WOUNDS

# CLASSIFIED FOR ACCEPTANCE FOR INTERNMENT IN SWITZERLAND

1. Tuberculosis of the organs of respiration, even in initial lesions.

2. Tuberculosis of other organs (skin, glands, osseous system, articulations, organs of digestion, the urinary system, and the sexual organs.)

3. Chronic constitutional diseases, chronic blood diseases and chronic intoxications (maleria, diabetes, leukaemia, pernicious anemia, poisoning by chlorine, carbon monoxide, lead, mercury, etc.)

4. Chronic affections of the respiratory tract (stenosis, marked emphysema, chronic bronchitis, asthma, chronic pleurisy, etc.).

5. Chronic affections of the circulatory organs (valvular disease of the heart and diseases of the heart muscle aneurysm, pronounced varices, arterio-sclerosis, etc.)

6. Chronic affections of the digestive tract necessitating a special and long continued regime.

7. Chronic affections of the genito-urinary system (chronic nephritis, vesical calculi, hypertrophy of prostate, etc.)

8. Chronic affections of the central and peripheral nervous system (hysteria, epilepsy, Basedow's disease, chronic aciatics, paralyses, convulsions and other serious nervous states.)

9. Chronic disease of the special sense organs (glaucoma, inflammations of the cornea, of the iris, the choroid, etc.; chronic middle ear disease, etc.)

10. Blindness or loss of an eye if the remaining eye does not possess normal vision.

11. Deafness in both ears.

12. Chronic and extensive, wide spread disease of skin, cutaneous ulceration, fistulae, etc.

13. Chronic articular rheumatism, and gout with visible deformities.

14. Benign or malignant tumors with marked disturbance of function.

15. States of marked general debility as a result of age or disease.

16. Loss of a member, in an officer or under-officer.

17. Grave syphilis causing functionary disturbances.

18. Anchylosis of important joints, pseudo-arthrosis contractures of the extremities, muscular atrophy, paralysis resulting from wounds caused by fire-arms and presumed to be of long duration.

19. All the conditions (or states) resulting from disease or wounds, not contained in the above list, but causing an inability to do complete military service for at least a year. (Mutilations of the face or the jaw, the result of trephining.)

20. Isolated cases which cannot be included in any of the above groups, but which, according to the opinion of the Commission are of urgent need of internment in Switzerland, and in which the injuries or the disease present the same gravity as those in the other categories.

To be excluded are:

1. All serious nervous or mental affections necessitating treatment in a special institution.

2. Chronic alcoholism.

3. All transmissible diseases in the period of their transmissibility (infectious diseases, gonorrhea, lues I & II, trachoma, etc.

Le Medecin de l'armee suisse: COLONEL HAUSER.

Berne, February 16th, 1916.

## APPENDIX K

#### (Translation)

Swiss Army Army General Staff SECTION DU COMMISSARIAT

## REGULATIONS

#### CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNMENT OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR, SICK AND WOUNDED, IN SWITZERLAND.

#### ART. 1. GENERALITIES

The administration of the internment of prisoners of war is regulated by

a. Agreements entered into between Switzerland and foreign Governments.

b. The distribution which will be made by the foreign Governments for the pay of officers under officers and soldiers of the foreign Governments.

c. The agreements made with the hotels, pensions, sanatoria, etc.

d. The organization for internment in Switzerland of the sick prisoners of war and wounded elaborated by the Surgeon General, January 25th, 1916.

e. The regulations as follows:

f. Inasmuch as the present regulations do not provide for modifications the regulations applying to the Swiss Army Service particularly the rules of administration of 1885 and the instructions for the administration of the Swiss Army in active service, October 7th, 1915.

## ART. 2. GENERAL INSPECTION

The administration of the internment of prisoners of war is placed under the inspection of the Commissary of War of the Army.

## ART. 3. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS

For each region in which the interned exist, the Commissary General of War of the Army will designate one or more accountants (officers or under officers) assigned to the service of administration, of subsistence and accounts. These accountants are placed, from the point of view of the administration, under the quartermaster General at Berne. These officers will be supplied with necessary funds.

ART. 4. SERVICE OF CONTROL AND REPORT

The controls and reports will be carried out as follows:

a. The control of men (account books) and copies of said control as a part of the monthly report.

b. The daily report of the hotels to be recorded each evening.

c. The daily report of the region reported by the accountant.

d. The daily report of the central Quartermaster of the internment.

A copy of this report will be sent to the Surgeon General of the Army.

The reports are to be made upon the forms ad hoc.

## ART. 5. SERVICE OF ACCOUNTS AND TREASURY

a. The central quartermaster of internment at Berne will act as central accounting service for the internment of prisoners of war.

b. All the accounts of internment of the prisoners of war of the districts should be viewed by the sanitary officers respectively and should be accompanied by the individual accounts. These accounts are to be estimated for each period of payment up to the 10th, of the following month, with a complete general account, to the central quartermaster. The latter will examine it and transmit it within ten days with a recapitulation summary to the bureau of accounts of the General Staff of the Army.

c. After an examination of the said accounts, both as to form and contents, the Bureau of Accounts of the General Staff of the Army will submit, at the end of the month, these accounts to the Surgeon General of the Army for visé of the total monthly accounts.

d. The Surgeon General of the Army returns the monthly balances with the individual accounts and vouchers (controls) to the Department politique federal who will then transmit them to the foreign embassies concerned.

e. The embassies give a receipt within a month from the date of delivery, and effect within the same time the payment of the amounts due to the Treasury of the Federal States.

## ART. 6. ADVANCES AND PAYMENTS

a. The Federal Treasury at Berne will act as a central office of payment, upon the basis of a credit which is opened there by the Department politique. The embassies of the foreign countries will make their payments at this office upon the basis of the monthly balance of the different regions. The central quartermaster communicates to the "Direction du service de caisse et de comptabilite federale" at the same time that he reports his monthly balance, the payments made by the foreign countries. The central quartermaster directs the "Direction du service de caisse et de comtabilite federale" to make the advances of the necessary funds to the accountants of the districts.

The Surgeon General of the Army vises the orders of payment relative thereto.

### ART. 7. COMPENSATION

a. Officers, under officers and soldiers of foreign countries; the amounts paid by the latter and eventual instructions from such States make the rule.

b. For the Swiss military service, the pay for active service will be the rule. Physicians who are not of the service and not in uniform will receive compensation based on actual service and time effectually employed in the treatment of the patients; at the same time they will not be able to carry on their account everything included, more than 15 francs for an entire day. It is upon this basis that their compensation for a half or a quarter of a day will be estimated. If the directing sentry officers are not occupied throughout the entire day in the care of the patients, the compensation based on their rank will be regulated pro rata for the time employed.

c. The sanitary personnel (under officers and privates). commanded by the Surgeon General of the Army in the districts for treatment and care of the interned, sick in the quarters of the personnel, civil or in the hotel, receives from the proprietor of the establishment (hotels, etc.) food and quarters and the pay of his rank, plus a supplement of pay of 1.50 frances per day. The Army will not bear any of the expense relative thereto.

## ART. 8. PAYMENT OF PAY

The payment of compensation will be regulated as follows:

a. For the military of the foreign States, according to the instructions which shall be given by such States.

b. For the Swiss military the 10th, 20th, and last day of each month.

c. The sanitary superintendents and physicians of the establishments will tabulate for their time and submit a payroll which must be vised by the sanitary officer who is in charge of the establishment.

## ART. 9. SUBSISTENCE AND QUARTERS

a. The interned are fed and lodged according to contracts made with hotels, etc.

b. The Swiss officers receive a commutation for rations (fr. 1.20) and fr. 1.50 for lodging. (For the practicing physicians the commutation for lodging and subsistence are included under the compensation granted them as noted in Art. 7, b.)

c. The Swiss underofficers and soldiers receive a commutation of expenses for entire pension (food and lodging) up to a maximum of 5 francs per day. Under these circumstances this does not interfere with the supplement of pay. Any excesses of this must be supported by themselves.

#### ART. 10. ACCOUNTS OF HOTELS

The hotels return their accounts upon special forms, made up from the daily returns of the hotel, the 10th, 20th, and last day of each month.

These accounts will be paid after the directing sanitary officer of the place has approved them.

## ART. 11. COMPENSATION FOR TRAVEL

a. The transportation of the interned will be charged to their respective Governments. The officers and troops and their baggage will receive the reduction of the military in times of peace (one half tariff). In the case of transportation by special train, the minimum will be 5 frances per kilometer. For private trips for the interned, a special card of permission, etc., by the directing sanitary officer is necessary.

b. The personnel accompanying the sick prisoners of war are subject to the reduction of rate (one half ordinary rate) for the journey to and from the point of departure of the transport. There will be established a "vise transport militaire" for these transports, provided with the seal of "l'Internement des prisoniers de guerre," with the indication of the route of the transport and the date.

c. The Swiss military will travel by order of transportation under the general orders for the "Interest of the State." This order of transport will be stamped with the seal "Internement des prisoniers de guerre en Suisse."

d. The practicing physicians not in uniform, will be reimbursed for the expenses of transport (cost of tickets) for trips connected with the internment. The tickets or duplieates are to be returned with their accounts, with special mention of the reasons and aim of the trip, and for and in the interest of which particular foreign State the trip was made.

The accounts for the expenses of transportation by railroad should not figure in the monthly accounts. The administration of the C. F. F. will submit in this relation a separate account to the central quartermaster.

e. The foreign Government will make good in the same way

the expenses of other disbursements for transportation; for example, carriages for the sick, automobiles, etc., which are connected with the internment. The same applies to disbursements for postage, telegrams necessary in the correspondence within and outside of the country.

These disbursements will be paid by the accountant of the district, to the debit account of the "caisse generale." The papers relative thereto will be vised by the Surgeon General of the Army.

## ART 12. APPROVAL OF THE FOREIGN STATES FOR EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSE OCCASIONED BY THE INTERNMENT IN SWITZERLAND

a. For administration and under reserve of Art. 11 above the foreign Government will reimburse the Swiss Government 50 centimes per day for each man. For the officers interned in the places treating tuberculosis the daily reimbursement will be 1 franc. These reinbursements are to be carried in the daily balance sheets of the district (effective each day) and on a special form for the monthly balances, and ought to figure in the bank receipts as extraordinary expenses.

These disbursements will serve to pay the expenses of administration (food, pay, lodging, treatment of sick, medicine expenses of doctors, etc.). If it he determined upon the final balancing that the expenses of administration are not covered by these disbursements, the State concerned will reimburse the Swiss Government the deficiency discovered.

b. The foreign States will reimburse for the expenses of printing of material mentioned in Art. 1 d and e.

c. The foreign Governments will reimburse the Treasury (Caisse d'Etat federale) for the advances made hy it. As a rule the 10th, 20th, and last day of each month, to which is added the interest calculated upon the official Swiss rate of discount.

As a point of departure for the calculation of interest the discount rate for the 20th of each month will be considered the discount rate for the monthly payments.

## APPENDICES

#### ART. 13. CASH ACCOUNTS

The accountants will keep two accounts: known as:

a. The general account—under which are included: aa. as receipts:

the advances of the quartermaster:

bb, as expenditures:

the hotel account; the pay to the prisoners of war; the expense of transportation of the interned; the disbursements for tickets, expenses of transportation, letters, etc., of the Swiss military and the attendant physicians; diverse expenses and disbursements.

b. The account for extraordinary expenses:

aa. as receipts:

the reimbursement of the foreign Governments

for the administration of the interned (Art. 12 a, b);

the extraordinary expenses.

bb. as expenditures:

- the reimbursenment of attending physicians;
- the expense for drugs, etc., (Art. 12 a, 2nd. line);
- the pay of the Swiss military;
- the payment for food and lodging of the Swiss military.
- the office expenses
- Incidental expenses.

c. For all disbursements the greatest economy is to be observed.

d. For the dishursements of all kinds of the central quartermaster of the internment, he will report periodically an account to which he will attach the necessary receipts and vouchers. These accounts should first be approved by the Surgeon General of the Army.

#### ART. 14.

A copy of these regulations is to be sent to and receipt for same acknowledged by each hotel proprietor, lodging keeper, as well as the officers of health directing such establishments, attending physicians, chiefs of the places and chiefs of the sanatoria, etc.

> Le commissarie des guerres de l'armee; Obrecht. Le Madecin de l'armee: HAUSER.

Berne, February 25th, 1916.

For the observance of the following:

Department politique federal.

Department federal des finances.

Department militaire suisse.

General.

Chef de l'Etate-major de l'armee.

Services de l'Etat-major de l'armee.

Representants des cantons ou seront loges les internes.

Medecin du service territorial pour sa gouverne et pour la Direction du service territorial.

Medecin en chef de la croix rouge.

Chef du service des transports.

Directeur du service des chemins de fer pour lui et pour les administrations des chemins de fer suisses.

Directeur de la poste de campagne pour lui et pour les administrations des postes suisse.

Chef du telegraphe de l'armee.

Gouvernments cantonaux interesses.

# APPENDIX L

#### (Translation)

#### ORDERS FOR THE GUARD OF THE PRISON CAMP WORKING CAMPS

## 1. PURPOSE AND DUTY OF THE GUARD.

A. To prevent the escape of prisoners of war, especially through measures which will prevent the attempt.

In attempts to escape the guard can shoot.

One call to the one escaping is sufficient.

Individual sentries may interfere when necessary to prevent escape and at the same time they should conduct themselves with tact towards the employer and his employees.

B. To prevent disobedience of regulations by the prisoners of war.

C. To prevent any intercourse between the prisoners and the public.

D. To prevent ill usage of the prisoner by his employer or his employees.

2. STRENGTH OF THE WATCH.

.....non-commissioned officers.

.....corporals.

.....soldiers.

of the Landstrum-Ersatz-Battalions.....

3. Special Duties of Those on Guard.

Those on guard are to appreciate the fact that the military authorities only desire to undertake the risk of the prisoners placed at work in private works in order to assist in domestic needs of the employer. The guard by suitable measures can carry out this wish. He can contribute greatly to the accomplishment of this end by a tactful demeanor towards the em-

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ployer and his employees and by means of just behaviour towards the prisoner. A prisoner of war cannot be compelled to work by corporal punishment and can only be encouraged to work when the labor is made more attractive than the life in the camp.

Prisoners of war are not criminals. Measures and regulations in connection with prisoners of war, which exceed the enumerated articles in Section 1 (Purpose and Duty of the Guard) are not indicated. Refractory prisoner workers as understood by the employer, will be sent back to the prison camp at his cost (vide par. II of the Labor Regulations). The special rules for the guard are in the main as follows:

a. Watching the interests of the military authorities.

b. Control of the employer and his employees in reference to the labor regulations and especially in reference to

Class of Work (Par. 5 of the Labor Regulations): namely regarding the association in work of the ordinary laborers and the prisoners of war.

Hours of Labor: (Par. 5 of the Labor Regulations.)

Lodgings of the Prisoners of War: (Par.  $\overline{7}$  of the Labor Regulations.)

Feeding of the Prisoners of War: (Par. 8 of the Laber Regulations.)

Register of Work: (Par. 12 B-C of the Labor Regulations.)

Clothing: (Par. 13 of the Labor Regulations.)

Management of the Pay: (Par. 12 A, of the Labor Regulations.)

Keeping of a Guard Book.

c. Supervising of small purchases for the prisoner of war laborers in that the weekly arrangements will suffice. Articles to be purchased are, namely, clothing, cleansing materials, handkerchiefs, etc. The purchase of tobacco, cigars and cigarettes is until further notice permissible in small quantities.

d. An identification slip of each prisoner of war laborer is to be compiled during the first week of work. The identification slip will contain a careful description of the prisoner. Each is numbered with a number corresponding to regulation number on the working list. They will be made in triplicate. One is for the commandant of the prison camp, a second for the police authorities of the locality, and the third is retained by the guard for their use. Samples of this slip are to be had from the Inspection Department.

In case of the successful escape of a prisoner of war, the number of his identification slip is to be immediately telegraphed or telephoned to the commandant and the police authorities. The capture of an individual should be given over to the police authorities in order that the guard may prevent the rest of the prisoners from seizing this opportunity of attempting to escape.

e. Daily careful disinfection of the latrines used by the prisoners of war.

f. All accidents to the prisoners within or without the camp will be treated similarly to those occurring to those belonging to our army, and the cause will be carefully determined. A short professional opinion from the surgeon will be appended in like manner to the usual service casualty list and the commandant immediately notified.

4. SENTRY HOURS.

Relief I. From the Reveille of the prisoners to the second period of rest after breakfast.

Relief II. From the beginning of this period to the midday rest period.

Relief III. From this period to the evening rest period.

Relief IV. From this period to taps (the prisoners housed in their barracks for the night).

5. GENERAL ORDERS.

Working with 'the prisoners is forbidden the watch and sentries.

Watching the prisoners before, during and after work occupies the whole time of the guard. The employer has no right to ask the guard to work with the prisoners.

The guard should exhibit a firm, determined military attitude towards the prisoners without being overbearing or without reproving them by corporal punishment.

Conversation with the prisoners unless it concerns duties is forbidden,

The guard is not to allow the prisoners to leave his sight.

Secretly supplying the prisoners with delicacies, newspapers, letters and especially dispensing alcohol will be punished by a court martial and implies imprisonment and eventually the penitentiary.

The regulations of the camp relative to the mail facilities of prisoners are to be strenuously observed. All letters received and all outgoing mail of the prisoners are under the control of the mail censuring department of the camp.

Sentries should have their rifles loaded and bayonets fixed. Immediately after being relieved they are to report to the officer having charge of the guard, reporting all observations concerning infractions, of discipline as well as all infringements against the labor regulations.

The men relieved from guard are as far as possible to hold themselves in readiness in their quarters to answer any urgent call.

If a sentry for any urgent reason leaves his post, he should be relieved by the oldest of the guard.

The guard can retire to their barracks at taps (9 o'clock P. M.).

The sentries are to assure themselves that the doors of the prisoners' barracks are locked and that all measures have been taken to prevent the escape of prisoners during the night.

Independent measures in this respect are necessary on the part of the sentries.

## GENERAL COMMENTS FOR THE GUARD

1. The inspection department of the prisoners of war camp of the 18th Army Corps has today transmitted the following to you:

a. Descriptive Lists. These are consecutively numbered, the number placed in the upper righthand corner (in a black square). Each descriptive list is made in triplicate; one, the best copy, is sent to the police authorities of the district, the second remains in the book and a third copy on thick paper is sent to the office of the commandant of the camp. The copies given to the police authorities and to the commandant are assembled and placed in a folder which bears the name of the firm employing the prisoners. It is requested that these descriptive lists be carefully guarded as only by means of these can a prisoner with any surety be apprehended.

In making out these papers a sharp pointed hard pencil is to be used.

b. Guard Instructions. Naturally guard instructions in general cannot anticipate special needs of the watch. In general the inspection will post one sentry at night since it would demand too many men to have the usual posts. It is recommended that in order to replace the posts the police authorities and the civil nightwatchman of the factory coordinate to secure the best measures to prevent the escape of the prisoners without calling upon the military authorities. The sentries must assure themselves that the windows and doors of the barracks are closed and all measures taken to prevent the escape of the prisoners during the night.

The guard must also assure themselves that no prisoner has any money and that they have no civilian clothing in their possession concealed under the prisoner's uniform or hidden in his bed. Intimate relations between the guard and the prisoners as well as between laborers and prisoners are to be avoided from patriotic reasons, since they must invariably lead to attempts at escape.

Intimate relations between laborers and prisoners have this further disadvantage in that they may lead to intrigues in the traffic of mail. The guard should be aware that through the publication of military conditions in Germany and exaggerations of conditions existing in the prison camps great injustice to the German cause can be done in our enemy's countries. The ordinary laborers will therefore observe that by their attitude and in their association they can be of use in the management of prisoners.

It should be made clear to the prisoner who is employed in work that in escaping, outside of the resulting punishment he will never be permitted to work on the outside again, but will be restricted to the prison camp.

In case of attempts at escape or misbehaviour he will be confined where he is until he can be confined in the prison camp.

The Inspection Department will appreciate it if notice of

any unusual conditions is brought to its attention by the guard, either by telephone or in writing.

If the prisoners work in civilian clothes, they must be supplied by the commandant of the camp with a yellow arm band which has the words: "Prisoner of War" printed on it. These arm-bands are to be fastened to the left sleeve.

To avoid inducements to attempt an outbreak by means of other opportunities, the representative of the General Command of the 18th Army Corps has issued the following, Section 5, Number 31988:

1. That the rifles of the guard under no circumstances shall he placed where they are accessible to the prisoners.

2. That there shall he telephonic communication between the camp guard and the nearest place where troops are quartered.

3. That those not standing guard must always be prepared to quickly support the sentries.

4. That the messing of the guard particularly the morning and the evening meals shall be so arranged that they will be supplied to the personnel of the watch.

5. It seems important to the Inspection that the watch immediately after their arrival at the place of work should personally confer with the police authorities in order to facilitate the apprehension of those escaping and to co-operate in measures to prevent escape. It is also important for the guard to acquaint themselves with the address of the nearest one who has charge of the police dogs in order to secure his co-operation.

c. List of Work. These lists will be made out under the supervision of the guard by a skilled operator of the employer. The amount of the compensation is left to the discretion of the guard. This amount is paid through the guard and not by the employer in order to assist the paymaster in his accounts with the individual prisoners. A "lazy fellow" receives nothing; a diligent prisoner receives up to 50 pfennigs a day. This 50 pfg. is paid in part in ready cash and the remainder will be paid on the release of the prisoner. The War Department has not yet fully decided how much of the income derived from their work will later be paid to the prisoners. The Inspection will pay these prisoner laborers with checks instead of actual money; these checks are similar to accident insurance slips and are bound in a check book. These checks will be paid only at the pay office of the camp. The prisoners will thus have money, namely the checks, which will not be in actual cash and cannot be used in an attempt at flight.

The sentries can accomplish their tasks if they at all times conduct themselves with tact towards the prisoners as well as towards the employer and perform their work with a strict sense of duty. They must therefore show the best example of being punctual, watchful, diligent, just and sober. In this way can they show a service to the fatherland which to-day every honorable German is prepared to show.

d. Pay List. The pay list will be under the direction of the guard. The guard will prepare a daily list, Sundays included, which includes the names of all the guard. The weekly pay of the guard will be reckoned from this list and will be included by the employer in the total amounts at each place of work. The place of work pays each of the guard in the most convenient way.

2. The Inspection desires that the guard he changed as little as possible, *i.e.*, that they will be relieved by the Landstrum battalion only in urgent cases. Only in this way can the purpose of the work be carried out as desired by the employer and the commandant of the camp. It is a well known fact that guards of civil prisoners are never changed. Why should not a like principle he applied to prisoners of war?

If a guard does not perform his full duty, he must be immediately relieved.

3. In all cases of doubt and in all difficulties arising the guard shall employ the telephone to the Inspector Department and ask concerning the same. The telephone shall also be employed when questions arise concerning a stubborn employer, a suspicious case of an attempt at escape, concerning a lazy prisoner or one who is sick.

The Inspection Department desires these inquiries. The telephone number is Frankfurt A. M. Station "Taunus." No. 3280.

By command

(Signed) SCHENCK, First Lieutenant.

# APPENDIX M

## REPORT OF MAJOR C. B. V—, 1ST CAMERONIANS (SCOTTISH RIFLES), ATTACHED TO THE CHESHIRE REGIMENT

I was taken prisoner on the 13th October, 1914, close to La Bassee in France by the Prussian Guard Cavalry. I myself, personally, was treated well by this corps, and was given food and shelter, but the other officers and men who were in charge of the same guard were not treated so well, they being given no food and being confined in a church until the morning. I am sure that the treatment which I received was with the hope of getting information out of me. I was bombarded with numberless inquiries, especially with the alleged use by the British of dum-dum bullets, and as to the state of the British army.

On the morning of the 14th, I was fallen in with four other British officers and about 200 men, and was marched to Lens. Here a halt was made, and I pointed out that I was wounded in the leg; I could not march any further. I was then taken on the Douay in a motor, the remainder of the prisoners following by road (a considerable distance).

At Douay I was detained on the square in front of the Hotel de Ville with a sentry over me, and was subjected to continual abuse and revilement. On the arrival of the other prisoners we were all confined in a large shed for the night. No food, except a little provided by the French Red Cross Society, was given, also no straw, and we spent a terrible night there, men being obliged to walk about all night to keep warm as their greatcoats had been taken from them.

On the 17th, October, in the morning, the French Red Cross people gave us what they could in food, and did their very best, in spite of opposition from the Germans. At about 2 P. M. on the same day we were all marched off to the railway station, being reviled at and cursed all the way by German officers as well as by German soldiers. One of our officers was spat on by a German officer.

At the station we were driven into closed-in wagons, from which horses had just been removed, fifty-two men being crowded into the one in which the other four officers and myself were. So tight were we packed, that there was only room enough for some of us to sit down on the floor. This floor was covered fully three inches deep in fresh manure, and the stench of horse urine was almost asphyxiating. We were boxed up in this foul wagon, with practically no ventilation for thirty hours, with no food, and no opportunity of attending to purposes of nature. All along the line we were cursed by officers and soldiers alike at the various stations, and at Mons Bergen I was pulled out in front of the wagon by the order of the officer in charge of the station, and, after cursing me in filthy language for some ten minutes, he ordered one of his soldiers to kick me back into the wagon, which he did, sending me sprawling into the filthy mess at the bottom of the wagon. I should like to mention here that I am thoroughly conversant with German, and understood everything that was said. Only at one station on the road was any attempt made on the part of German officers to interfere, and stop their men from cursing us. This officer appeared to be sorry for the sad plight which we were in. I should also like to mention that two men of the German Guard also appeared to be sympathetic and sorry for us: but they were able to do little or nothing to protect us.

Up to this time I had managed to retain my overcoat, but it was now forcibly taken from me by an officer at a few stations further on.

On reaching the German-Belgian frontier, the French prisoners were given some potato soup. The people in charge of it told us that none of it was for us, but that if any was left over after the French had been fed we should get what remained. This is in accordance with the general treatment of British prisoners by the Germans, who always endeavour to attend to our necessities last, and to put us to as much inconvenience and ill-treatment as possible. We subsequently got a little soup and a few slices of bread amongst twentyfive British prisoners in the same wagon with me.

On the 18th, October, early, we arrived at Cologne, and the four officers and myself were removed from the wagon, and, after some delay, sent on to Crefeld.

I said that fifty-two prisoners were in the wagon with me when we left Douay. These were: (here follow the names of four officers), myself, fifteen English soldiers and 32 French civilians of all grades of society. It is difficult to indicate or give a proper idea of the indescribably wretched condition which we were in after being starved and confined in the manner stated for three days and three nights. As is well known, one of these wagons is considered to be able to accommodate six horses or forty men, and this only with the doors open so as to admit of ventilation. What with the filth of the interior, the number of people confined in it, and the absence of ventilation, it seemed to recall something of what one had read of the Black Hole of Calcutta. To give an idea of the state of mind to which we have been reduced. I got one of the better-class French prisoners to secrete a letter to my wife in the hope that he might be able to get it out to her when he reached his destination, as these French civilian prisoners were being treated better than ourselves. They all expressed great pity for the way in which we were being treated.

I found out that the wagon in front of us was full up with English soldiers. This particular wagon had no ventilation slit of any sort or description, and men were crowded into this even worse than they were in the wagon in which I was. They banged away continually on the wooden sides of the van, and finally, as I supposed the Germans thought that they might be suffocated, a carpenter was got, who cut a small round hole in one of the sides.

I am strongly of opinion myself that this brutal treatment of British officers and men on their way to a place of internment is deliberately arranged for by superior authority with the object of making us as miserable and despicable objects as possible. The French officers were treated quite differently.

On arrival at Crefeld our treatment improved. We (that

is, the five officers) were placed in a barrack room which was intended to accommodate six people. We found there were already in the building ten other British officers.

The following is a short statement of how the imprisoned officers were treated at Crefeld, and it will be seen that there was not so much to complain of here.

Our daily routine was generally as follows:

8 A.M. Roll call.

8.15 A. M. Breakfast, which was served in two detachments as the feeding arrangements only admitted of half the officers taking meals at one time. Breakfast consisted of poor coffee with milk, bread and margarine.

11.45 A. M. and 1.15 P. M. Dinner. This was also served in two detachments. It consisted of very poor soup, being the water in which our meat was cooked; meat generally pork, with potatoes and sauerkraut, but once a week we had beef and very occasionally mutton; vegetables have also been supplied latterly after continued complaint.

6.45 and 8 P. M. The evening meal took place, and consisted, as a rule, of slices of sausages with bread and margarine, and coffee.

9.30 P. M. Evening roll call, after which we had to go to our rooms.

10.45 P.M. Lights were ordered to be put out.

As regards recreation, we were allowed to make use of the gravel quadrangle inside the barracks, and we were also able to secure a foot ball. By walking round and round the quadrangle we were able to keep ourselves reasonably fit. The quadrangle was some 70-80 yards long and 60 yards wide, and surrounded by buildings three or four stories high on two sides. On one of its sides was the stabling.

No recreation rooms were provided, but we were allowed to use the dining-hall after meals had been cleared away.

For servants, we had French, Russian and British imprisoned soldiers, one orderly to every fifteen officers for the purpose of keeping the rooms clean. Most of the rooms in which we were housed were capable of accommodating six soldiers. In most cases seven or eight officers were put into them. Officers had to make their own beds and brush their own boots in nearly all cases. The beds we slept on were as provided for the German soldiers, and were very hard and uncomfortable, and I found it difficult to get any real rest on them.

A canteen was provided at the barracks, at which we were able to purchase foodstuffs and necessary clothing, which was run by the Germans. We could also obtain mineral waters. No alcoholic drinks of any sort or beer were permitted.

As regards pay, a subaltern received 60 M., an officer senior to this rank 100 M. per month. As 2 M. per diem were charged for the food supplied, it will be seen that subalterns never actually handled any of this pay. We were permitted to receive money from England, but were not allowed to have in our possession more that 100 M. at a time.

With respect to religious matters, a Lutheran parson came to visit us and asked to hold services, and did so for one or two Sundays; but he made so many unpleasant remarks about the late King and the British that —— decided that we should hold our own services. I heard that the Roman Catholic priest who came to visit also was a man of quite a different stamp.

I would especially call attention to the barbarous way in which British soldiers are being treated in the various laagers by the Germans. The information given below has been obtained from the British orderlies who came to Crefeld as servants, and also from English and French medical officers who had been in the camps, which in many cases were composed of tents. The men all had their greatcoats-and in many cases their tunics as well-and their money taken away from them, and are in great need of clothing, and particularly underclothing. It appears that the Germans supplied them with wooden clogs when boots were worn out. The men state that they slept on straw, which had not been changed for months, and was quite sodden and rotten. All the men who came as orderlies were crawling in vermin and half of them were suffering from the itch. The medical officer had to isolate these men before they could be employed as servants. I was also informed by them that the feeding arrangements for the British soldier were very bad indeed, and as the men had no money to supplement their rations they were in a half starved condition, which their appearance corroborated.

I should like to mention that I sent a letter to the Foreign Office secretly, some three weeks ago, about the way in which the men were treated, giving the name of a witness who is now in France. I hear that this letter reached its destination. In my opinion I think something should be urgently done to try to ameliorate the lot of the British soldier who is a prisoner in Germany.

It is also a fact that the British soldiers are used solely for all menial duties and dirty work connected with the camps, such as cleaning out latrines and such-like; also every other unpleasant fatigue duty. In connection with this the French orderlies at Crefeld stated to me that they were very sorry indeed to see the British soldier treated in such an ignoble and disgraceful manner, being, in fact, more like slaves, the idea being to create ill-feeling between the French and British soldiers by this means.

I also wish to state that — who arrived at Crefeld about December, told me that all the Irishmen at his camp (I think, but am not sure, that it was —) were collected together shortly before he left, and were harangued by the commandant who stated that the Emperor was aware of the downtrodden state of Ireland, and now wished that the Irishmen should be placed in a separate camp, where they would be better fed and treated differently from the Englishmen. He further stated that subsequently they went in a body to the commandant, and said they did not wish to have any different treatment from their compatriots.

C. B. V.

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December 24th, 1914.

